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HOMERIC SYNCHRONISM.

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κύμασιν Αἰγαίοιο ποδῶν ἐνεθήκας ῥίζας.

Callim. Hymn. in Delum. 53.

HOMERIC SYNCHRONISM:

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE

TIME AND PLACE OF HOMER

BY THE

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

Author of 'Juventus Mundi,' &c.

London

MACMILLAN AND CO.

1876

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE present work has for its nucleus two papers published in the Contemporary Review for the months of July and August 1874. Its composition has been due to a belief that the time has at length come for serious efforts to connect the Poems of Homer, by means of the internal evidence which they supply, with events and personages which are now known from other sources to belong to periods, already approximately defined, of the primeval history of our race.

When we consider how much learning and ingenuity have been expended in a hundred efforts (scarcely any two of the assailants, however, agreeing except in their negative or revolutionary criticism) to disintegrate the Homeric Poems, to break up into nebulous fragments the Sun of all ancient literature, such an attempt as I have described may seem to some a daring one. A rational reaction against the irrational excesses and vagaries of scepticism may, I admit, readily degenerate into the rival folly of credulity. To be engaged in

opposing wrong affords, under the conditions of our mental constitution, but a slender guarantee for being right. I am the more open to the charge, and perhaps to the danger, because, conservative as regards the Poet, I am radical and dissenter to the uttermost as respects several of the opinions too freely accepted from a lazy and incomplete tradition. Not to mention that I agree with Lucian in his criticism of some preceding critics, and believe they would have been saved from much erroneous and much gratuitous speculation, had they been more careful to observe the primary laws of poetic insight, and to acknowledge that seal and stamp with which it is the prerogative of supreme genius to authenticate its handiwork. But against besetting sins and dangers I have endeavoured to take security, by trying to distinguish carefully between certainty and probability, between knowledge and conjecture; and especially, by founding all inquiries and conclusions upon close and painstaking examination of the Homeric text, and by conducting them according to the established laws of evidence as opposed to the lawlessness of *ipse dixi* and of arbitrary assertion.

It is pleasant to see that in Germany, and even in this country, amidst the rude materialising pressure of the age, Homerology does not cease to flourish. I know not that there is authority for the word I have just

presumed to use. But when I consider how diversified is the study of the Poems, and how it branches into almost every department of living and permanent human interests, I seem to see that it has a claim of right, as well as of convenience, to a special and integral designation; were it only for the purpose of preventing it from being confounded with the general study (important as that is) of the classical, or of the Grecian, writers. It is in my view an organic whole; a manifold and diversified portion of the great scientific inquiry, now in progress, into the early history of civilized man.

In an endeavour to fix the place of Homer in History, and also in the Egyptian Chronology, which is now in some degree established, I may perhaps be allowed, for the sake of clearness, to begin by stating my point of departure.

I am among those who have, in previous works, contended or admitted;

1. That the poems of Homer are in the highest sense historical, as a record of 'manners and characters, feelings and tastes, races and countries, principles and institutions[1].'

2. That there was a solid nucleus of fact in his account of the Trojan War.

[1] Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age, vol. i. pp. 35–6; Juventus Mundi, p. 7.

3. That there did not yet exist adequate *data* for assigning to him, or to the Troïca, a place in the established Chronology[1].

4. That his own Chronology was to be found in his Genealogies, which were usually careful and consistent, and which therefore served to establish a relative series of persons and events, within his proper sphere, but did not supply links of definite connection with the general course of human affairs outside of that sphere in time or place[2].

5. That there was no extravagance in supposing he might have lived within a half century after the War, though he was certainly not an eye-witness of it[3].

6. That there was very strong reason to believe that he flourished before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesos[4].

And in 1868[5] I pointed out that the time might be

[1] Studies, vol. i. p. 37; Juventus Mundi, p. 6.

[2] Juventus Mundi, p. 3.

[3] Studies, vol. i. p. 37.

[4] Ibid. vol. i. p. 37, and Juventus Mundi, p. 6.

[5] In 1867, Professor Lauth, of Munich, published his valuable tract called 'Homer und Ægypten,' in which he traces philologically numerous notes of connection between the Poems and Egypt. Of these the text itself would for the most part convey no idea to the ordinary reader. I received this treatise, through his great courtesy, from himself in 1873. He describes this essay towards a connection of the two as the first (p. 40), and as, therefore, requiring indulgence. I have endeavoured, in this work, summarily to exhibit the main results at which he arrives. His line of movement is however distinct from, though parallel to mine. To a certain extent Sir G. Wilkinson had touched on the same matter as Professor Lauth.

at hand, when, with the aid of further investigations, it would be possible to define with greater precision those periods of the Egyptian Chronology to which the Homeric Poems, and their subject, appeared to be related. It appears to me that *data* of considerable importance, which had gradually been gathering, have recently been much enlarged; that missing links, now recovered, enable us to frame something like, at the least, the *disjecta membra* of a chain of evidence; and that the time has therefore come to expand and add to the suggestions which in former publications I ventured to submit[1]. I may add that Assyrian, as well as Egyptian, research now supplies us with some valuable materials in aid of the general design.

In the argument I am now about to introduce, it is not necessary to beg any of the questions which relate to the existence of one or several Homers, or to the reference of the two Poems to the same authorship, or to deal with the subject of subsequent textual manipulation. By the word Homer, which probably means no more than Composer, it is not necessary at this stage to understand more than 'the Poet or Poets (a plural which I of course introduce under protest) from whom proceeded the substance of the Iliad and the Odyssey.'

[1] Juventus Mundi, chap. v. p. 143.

Without at all impairing the force of these admissions, I wish now to carry the affirmative portion of my propositions greatly farther, and to offer various presumptions, which combinedly carry us some way on the road to proof, of a distinct relation of time between the Homeric Poems, and other incidents of human history, which are extraneous to them, but are already in the main reduced into chronological order and succession; namely, portions of the series of Egyptian Dynasties. If this relation shall be established, it indirectly embraces a further relation to the Chronology of the Hebrew Records. The whole, taken together, may in due time come to supply the rudiments of a *corpus* of regular history, likely, as I trust, to be much enlarged, and advanced towards perfect order and perspicuity, from a large variety of sources, some of them Eastern, others lying at various points on the cincture of the Mediterranean Sea.

We have seen that, until lately, the Poems, even if offering within their own area a wide space of solid and coherent ground, yet seemed to float, without root or anchorage, on the sea of time.

The present century, and the present generation, have been enriched by a supply of new materials. When the great Egyptian Empire came to be the subject of real knowledge, another waif of history

was firmly set upon the shore; and the deciphering of the inscriptions of the Egyptian monuments and *papyri* has opened new lights, of some of which I hope to show the direction and effect.

Those who attach weight to the speculations of the ancients individually on the date of Homer or of the Poems, may find them set out and discussed in Dr. H. Düntzer's *Homerische Fragen*, chap. iv.[1] The different opinions seem to agree only in this, that they have no distinctly historical or evidential basis. Taken singly, they are opinions, and nothing more. But they range over the whole period between the time of the Capture, and the date of the Olympiad of Corœbus, 776 B.C. The Capture itself was placed by some in the twelfth century, but more commonly in the thirteenth, till Eratosthenes computed it to have taken place in the year 1183 B.C. Collateral knowledge, and the growth of critical arts, have opened to us paths, which were closed at earlier dates even to better men. Moreover when we view these opinions in the aggregate, we may reasonably hold that, though they do not supply proof, they indicate a strong and unbroken tradition, which raises, at least, a egitimate presumption, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, of the great antiquity of the authorship of the Poems.

[1] Leipsic, 1784.

Before proceeding, however, to extend generally the ground of the above-recited propositions, I shall submit some remarks in confirmation on the Second and Sixth of them, and thus I hope to prepare the way for the more strictly historical argument.

I have divided this treatise into two Parts.

The First Part, which is preliminary, treats of matters connected generally with the place and date of Homer in history.

I. The plain and site of Troy.

II. The Hissarlik Remains, recovered by Dr. Schliemann.

III. The European *habitat* of Homer, and his priority to the Dorian conquest.

IV. The authorship of the Hymn to the Delian Apollo.

In the Second Part I come to the principal and special purpose I have in view, which is (if I may borrow a figure from the old method of bridge-building) to drive at least a single pile into the solid ground of history, as a kind of firstfruits from modern Egyptology; as a beginning towards marking out, and fencing in, the historical limits both of Homer's subject, and of his career. My warrant for introducing the topics treated in Part I is to be found in this; that, if Homer were an Asiatic Greek, of the period most commonly supposed, at

some time after the Dorian conquest, it is idle to talk of placing him in any particular relation to the Egyptian Chronology, and a waste of labour to trace out in detail his possession of Egyptian knowledge and traditions; for, to Asiatic Greece, Egypt was but the name of one among foreign lands, and its wide-reaching Empire was neither any longer felt in action, nor witnessed of by patent and accessible records, nor retained in the living memory of man.

In the Second Part I shall contend—

I. That there are matters detailed as of fact in the Poems, which fit themselves on to other matters of fact either originally made known to us, or brought into greatly clearer light, by the Egyptian monuments.

II. That we have a large number of scattered indications of Homer's Eastern and especially his Egyptian knowledge, in his cosmological ideas and representations, as well as in a variety of incidental notices.

By these contentions, I seek to lead up to a general conclusion as follows. There are probable grounds, of an historical character, for believing that the main action of the Iliad took place, and that Homer lived, between certain chronological limits, which may now be approximately pointed out to the satisfaction of reasonable minds.

PART I.

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CHAPTER I.

HOMER AND THE PLAIN OF TROY.

'Hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles;
Classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant.'
AENEID II. 29.

THE important researches of General Cesnola in Cyprus resulted in obtaining a collection of sculptured objects, which considerably enlarged the range of prehistoric Art; and of implements and utensils, exhibiting so extensive an use of uncombined copper, and so clear and wide an application of that metal to cutting purposes, as at once to suggest a modification of the theories of those who, in arranging what may be termed their metallic periods, assume that the age of bronze invariably came in immediate succession to the age of stone. These objects were partially opened to view in London during the autumn of 1872, when they were on their way to their new home in America.

The discoveries of Dr. Schliemann in the Plain of Troy cannot justly be approached without an expression of admiration for his disinterested liberality, his unwearied

energy, and his generous enthusiasm: and of gratitude for the services he has rendered to the lovers and students of Homer, and to the history of the world.

Having discharged an indispensable duty in this acknowledgment, I would observe that the discoveries are to be regarded from two principal points of view:—

1. What light do they throw upon the question, whether Troy had a real, or only a mythical, existence.

2. If the City were real, and the Siege historical, what presumptions do these discoveries raise as to the person, and the epoch, of the Poet who has recorded them?

As to the first of the two questions, it is difficult to suppose that the mythical theory, always wofully devoid of tangible substance, can long survive the results attained by this distinguished explorer. In the Plain where the scene of the Iliad is laid; upon the spot indicated by the oldest traditions, which for very many centuries were never brought into question, and which, as testifying to a fact the most simple and palpable, were of high presumptive authority; at a depth of from twenty-three to thirty-three feet, with the débris of an older city beneath it, and of three more recent successive towns above it; has been found a stratum

of remains of an inhabited City, which was manifestly destroyed by a tremendous conflagration.

To this general proposition, the statement of which is of itself (I think) some part of the proof we seek, a very large amount of evidence in detail, indicative of correspondence between the objects unveiled and the Poems, has to be added in a subjoined Section. The proposition, however, encounters resistance from those, who have supported the historical character of Troy and of the Poems, but have contended that the site of the City was to be found in some other portion of the Plain. The discussion of the rival claims has continued for near a century. It was in 1785 and 1786 that Le Chevalier[1] visited the Troad. Unhappily, the debate was conducted, until a comparatively recent period, without the advantage of a careful and accurate survey of the ground. To the British Naval Service was reserved the honour of supplying this deficiency in the year 1844, and the plans of Messrs. Graves and Spratt now supply an acknowledged topographical basis, upon which the inquirer may work with safety.

The favourite but not uncontested opinion, from the time of Le Chevalier, seems to have been that the

[1] Le Site de Troie, selon Le chevalier ou selon M. Schliemann. Par M. Gustave d'Eichthal. Paris, 1875, p. 3.

site of the Homeric Troy lay near Bounarbashi, at a distance of not less than seven or eight miles from the present line of sea-coast. Dr. Schliemann[1] has given an account of the literature of the subject, which shows a large majority for the Balidag, or Bounarbashi, site. But Maclaren[2] in 1822 produced his Dissertation, and he deserves great praise for having at that date, in opposition to the prevailing currents of opinion, perceived that the claim of Hissarlik was the best. Publishing in 1846, Mr. Grote[3], without knowledge, apparently, of the Admiralty Survey, discussed largely the history of the Aiolic Ilion, and the question of the site; and gave his opinion in favour of that ancient tradition, which was first disturbed by Demetrius of Skepsis, Hestiaia, and Strabo[4]. In Germany, somewhat earlier (1842), Dr. von Eckenbrecher[5] had published an argument on behalf of the same site: and this argument, revised and enlarged, he has again produced[6] since the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, but (designedly) without availing

[1] Troy and its Remains, by Dr. Henry Schliemann; translated by Mr. Philip Smith. I quote everywhere, carefully edited, from the translation published in a beautiful volume by Mr. Murray, 1875.

[2] Dissertation on the Topography of the Plain of Troy, by Charles Maclaren. Edinburgh, 1822.

[3] Grote's History of Greece, vol. i. pp. 436–53 (ed. 1831).

[4] Ibid. p. 451. Hestiaia was of Alexandria Troas.

[5] Ueber die Lage des Homerischen Ilion, in the Rheinisches Museum, 1842.

[6] Die lage des Homerischen Troja. Düsseldorf, 1875.

himself of the corroboration they afford. Mr. Grote had taken a view of the literary evidence. Maclaren proceeds mainly upon topographical considerations. Dr. von Eckenbrecher's work of 1875 contains a closely reasoned and careful statement of the entire case. Simultaneously with this valuable publication, has appeared the tract of M. d'Eichthal[1], which confidently upholds the site above Bounarbashi, and urges perhaps all that can be said for it: while Mr. Otto Keller[2] has vigorously sustained the conclusions of Dr. Schliemann. The Doctor mentions the names of some other advocates of his own view, whose works I have not seen. I believe that the controversy has now come near its end.

For my own part I have always leaned to the belief that it would not be practicable to establish in all points an accurate correspondence of detail between the descriptions of the Iliad and the topographical features of the Plain, either such as they now are or such as we can reasonably conceive them to have been at the date of the Troica or of the Poems. But it appears to me that the discoveries of Schliemann, and the arguments of Von Eckenbrecher, have established with all reasonable certainty the claim of Hissarlik to be

[1] Le Site de Troie par M. Gustave d'Eichthal. Paris, 1875.
[2] Die entdechung Ilions Zu Hissarlik. Freiburg.

the site of the Troy, which the Poet of the Iliad had before his mental vision: while I cannot hesitate to say that Von Eckenbrecher has utterly destroyed the claims of every other site which has been proposed. And here I refer especially to that of Balidag, above Bounarbashi, on the banks of the Mendere, which is the principal competitor. He shows, beyond all doubt,

1. That the Mendere must from its source to the sea, if at all, be the Scamander.

2. That the Bounarbashi Springs are very far from accurately corresponding with the two fountains of Il. xxii. 147.

3. That the Troy of Homer was in the Plain; whereas this theory places it at a considerable elevation on the roots of Ida.

4. That the situation proposed is wholly irreconcilable with the chase of Hector by Achilles, when the fugitive chief passed three times round the walls.

5. That the movement of the Armies to and fro must commonly, if Balidag were the site, have been on the Scamander; which it evidently was not.

6. That remains of such a city as Troy must have been found on the spot; whereas they are totally wanting. The nature of the site precludes the possibility of their lying at a depth below the surface, like those of Hissarlik.

7. Zeus, in the Iliad, sees Troy from the top of Ida: but from the heights of Bounarbashi that summit is hidden by intervening eminences.

8. Homer allows, in the Iliad, barely an hour and a half for journies and transactions between the Bounarbashi site and the sea, which would have required seven hours: a discrepancy which cannot be removed by any intermediate change, that we can reasonably suppose to have been brought about in the coast-line.

9. The Trojan watchfires of the Eighth Book are in front of the City; therefore at no great distance; but the voices and the music about them are heard by Agamemnon from the camp (Il. x. 11–13).

The one reason, however, which, rising above all details, is alike fatal to the claims of Balidag and (not to mention other pretensions) of the Pagus Iliensium, is given by Dr. Schliemann. No spot within the line of the eminences can be the site of Ilion. The old Dardanič, of which the situation still remains unknown, was on the roots of Ida. The Ilion, or Ilios, of the Iliad is a City, set on an eminence indeed, but in a Plain. To correspond with this description is the very first condition, without the fulfilment of which no spot should be allowed to compete for the honour of representing the site of the Homeric Troy.

With no less ability has Von Eckenbrecher conducted

his constructive argument on behalf of the Hissarlik site. He sets out fully the historical evidence; and has occasion, in dealing with the testimonies of Horace[1] (which taken at the most bear only on the condition of the Hellenic Ilion of his day), to enter on the curious subject of the intention, charged upon Cæsar, to transfer the centre of Roman power to the site of ancient Troy. He then reviews the arguments of Strabo. He identifies the Dumbrek-tschaï as the Simois — and there clearly is no other Simois possible; and he agrees with Strabo that Kallikolonè (Il. xx. 53) is the round hill upon its banks, some hundreds of feet high, at the distance of a German mile (forty stadia) from Hissarlik. To the objection founded on the greatness of this distance, he replies, that the Trojans had been in precipitate flight from Achilles on his re-appearance, that it was the purpose of Arès to rally them (p. 48), and that Homer may have given this extended range to magnify the glory of the hero in the completeness of the rout of men and chariots; the latter of which, especially, could not but take this very line along the valley, for they were not able to mount the lateral eminences of the neighbourhood (p. 49). The objections generally, as taken by Strabo, are, he observes, hypercritical. Arguments, such as that founded on the supposed position of the

[1] Od. iii. 3.

tomb of Aisuetes (Il. ii. 793), are of small moment for persons who, like myself, are unprepared to maintain that the Iliad exhibits in all points of detail an accurate correspondence with each local feature of the Plain. But in this particular case the identification of a spot, only once mentioned, with but a single guiding *datum*, and no strongly marked geographical character, can hardly be otherwise than ambiguous; and is ill fitted to be the basis of a serious argument on the main question as to the Site.

The Tschiblak range, including Hissarlik, gives only sites such as would admit of the chase of Hector by Achilles (p. 56). The objection of Hestiaia, that the plain northwards from this site had been formed by the rivers since the war is purely arbitrary (p. 57). The wild fig and the beech, he observes, were certainly in the Plain, and cannot be carried up to the Pagus Iliensium in the hills (p. 58): and the whole argument of Demetrius and Hestiaia, adopted by Strabo, evidently without his having seen the site they favoured, was really due to their jealousy of the favours which the Ilion of their day had received on the strength of its traditionary claims.

The case for Hissarlik may, for the present purpose, be set forth very concisely.

It is an eminence, surrounded on three sides by the

Plain, visible from the top of Ida, with nothing to prevent a chase like that of Achilles round it. It is at a distance of nearly four miles from the sea[1]: and it is paradoxical in the highest degree to suppose that the narrow bay can at the time of the Siege have been of so extraordinary a depth as to have come near the foot of it. Fine springs, 'one of them even double,' are found immediately below the ruins of the city wall, or at short distances, and slaked the thirst of the Explorer's workmen during the excavations[2]. The distance, such as we may suppose it then to have been, between the City and the Ships, would quite warrant the expressions 'far,' 'a very long way' (Il. xviii. 256, Od. xiv. 496), which are essentially relative. It is also such as to correspond with the suppositions raised by the military operations of the Iliad. Dr. Schliemann argues, and apparently with much force, that the Plain of Troy is not alluvial[3]; Odūsseus tells us, that the Trojans thought of dragging the Horse to the summit of the Acropolis, and casting it down the rocks (Od. viii. 508). A vast accumulation from the *débris* of successive cities has disguised the natural form of the hill, and must have softened its outline while withdrawing the original floor from view: but the

[1] Schliemann (Trans.), p. 42. [2] Ibid. pp. 183, 194.
[3] Ithaque, &c. Paris, 1869, p. 208.

hill-side, we are told, still descends very abruptly on the north side, as also at the points N.E. and N.W.[1] The supposition that the Dumbrek-tschai is the Simois, and that a bed dry, or nearly dry, in summer, partially united it with the Scamander, best corresponds with the scene of the Iliad, which distinguishes the plain of Simois from the plain of Scamander; manifestly places Ilion between them; precludes any idea that a ford had to be crossed between the city and the camp; and yet speaks in one passage (Il. v. 773) of the spot where the rhoaï of the two rivers joined. We have indeed a ford over the Scamander named three times in the Poems. But in one of these passages (Il. xxi. 1) we are distinctly enough informed that the way over the ford was not the way to the City. In another, Hector is taken to the water at the ford when insensible, plainly because the banks were in general steep, and did not afford easy access (xiv. 433)[2]. In the third passage, the ford offers a natural turning-point westward for Hermes on his way back to Olūmpos (xxiv. 692). A very reasonable identification of the Tomb of Murinè (Il. ii. 811–15) is found by Schliemann, in a mound thirty-three feet high, at about one thousand yards from the Southern City wall;

[1] Remains, p. 58; ibid. pp. 304, 343.

[2] Von Eckenbrecher, pp. 61, 62; Remains, p. 71.

an excellent spot for the Trojan Array of the Second Book.

It might be hazardous to decide whether the present is also the ancient bed of the Scamander. The nature of the banks and their clothing well accord with the text: but (so far as I see) it scarcely offers a point at which there could have been a ford lying as close to the route between the city and the camp, as the Poem would lead us to desire. There are other dry beds to the east of it. But what the Iliad seems absolutely to require is, that it should have debouched on the western, not the eastern, side of the plain.

Hissarlik, then, seems upon the whole to suit the detailed descriptions of the Iliad far better than any other suggested site. But its main claims lie (1) in its adaptation to the more general descriptions of the Siege and of the situation of the beleaguered City; (2) in the remarkable testimony drawn by Dr. Schliemann from beneath the surface, which will be considered in the next Chapter. But again I would warn the inquirer to beware of the disposition to aim at establishing an exact correspondence of detail. The hypothesis I have offered to reconcile the junction of the two rivers with the separate mouths implied in Il. xii. 24 is conjectural. And there is an undeniable *lacuna* in the matter of the fountains, which formed

not the two sources, as has been sometimes erroneously said, but two of the sources of the Scamander. The two springs at Hissarlik can hardly have been on the line of the chase of Hector, and it has not yet been shown how they could have been among the headwaters of that river. To this subject I shall refer more largely in Chapter III.

I have not attempted, in these few pages, to set forth the whole argument respecting the site of Troy, for the object of the present work would not have justified the necessary amount of detail. I have only sought to show, with the help of the evidence now before us, in the important matter of locality, that there exists an original site, mainly and in a marked way corresponding with the picture drawn in the Poems. To establish this proposition is one great step, not indeed sufficient to establish, but indispensable towards establishing, the place of Homer in the order of realities, and in the chain of known historical events.

CHAPTER II.

HOMER AND HISSARLIK.

I HAVE thus far considered the case of Hissarlik without reference to the disclosures which the Hill itself has made under the hands of Dr. Schliemann; and have weighed only the intrinsic correspondence of the Site with the Poems. When this eminence further reveals to us itself as the site of a succession of cities, one of which, long anterior to known and regular history, was destroyed by a conflagration[1], and still exhibits remains full of the appliances of life for a community, it challenges our acceptance on the ground of internal evidence, highly diversified in its character, branching into a multitude of details, and raising the most interesting questions. (1) Do the material objects discovered in the fourth of the five *couches* or layers, whether portable or fixed, agree with one another, and belong to a whole? (2) Do they agree with the Poems; that is to say, do they present to us the same state of arts and manners, the same conditions

[1] Schliemann, Troy and its Remains, p. 17.

of life, the same relations to history and tradition, as those presented in the Poems? If these two questions are answered affirmatively, then not only is it established beyond doubt that Hissarlik was the Ilion conceived in the mind of the Poet, but it becomes morally certain that the composition of the Iliad must have taken place, not indeed of necessity, at or very near the exact time of the Siege, but within the general limits of the age to which the event belonged.

In my accounts of the objects discovered, as far as they go, I shall follow implicitly the authority of the great Explorer, to whom we owe so much. In comparing them with the text of the Poems, there will of course be room for the exercise of an independent judgment. Dr. Schliemann is of opinion (pp. 18, 346)[1] that Homer visited the Troad centuries after the Siege. This opinion would be of conclusive force, if it were the necessary or natural result of the processes in which he has been engaged. But the opinion appears to me to have arisen partly from a most warrantable inclination to coincide with what is still (I fear) the current notion as to the date of Homer, and as to his belonging to the stock of Asiatic Greeks: and partly from his imputing to the Poet ideas, which he thinks the evidence of the

[1] My citations continue to be from the authorised and improved English Translation published by Mr. Murray.

Hill confutes. I shall endeavour to show that there is no reason to suppose the Poet entertained such ideas.

He thinks (p. 19, cf. 182) that in the prophecy of Poseidon, concerning the coming dominion of Aineias and his posterity (Il. xx. 307), the Poet meant to convey that this dynasty should reign in Troy, whereas (he remarks) the City was totally destroyed, and rebuilt by another people. He thinks that Homer probably gathered from a contemporary king of Troy that he believed himself descended from Aineias.

I hold, on the contrary, that this prophecy has every sign of being founded on what actually occurred immediately after the Troica; and for this reason, that it was a tradition most unlikely to be invented. The part taken by Aineias in the War was not one of high distinction; and his character, cold and timid, was one very far removed from the sympathies of the Poet and his countrymen; he appears as the representation of the Dardanian Branch, with a sidelong jealous eye towards the predominating Ilian House of Priam. It is a statement by no means congenial to the general purpose of the Poem, which next after Achilles glorifies the Achaians, and after the Achaians, the House of Priam. But, on the other hand, nothing could be more probable or more natural than that, after the Greeks had withdrawn, some social and

political order should be established in Troas, and that its establishment should be effected, after the ruin of the House of Priam, under the surviving representative of the family which probably was a senior branch, and which manifestly stood next in influence and power. We are nowhere told that Dardanie was, like so many other cities, destroyed in the War. The friendship of Poseidon possibly indicates its possession of some foreign alliance or sympathy, not enjoyed by the Trojans proper, whom Poseidon hated; and if it be replied that such a sovereignty was more likely to be in Dardanie than in a rebuilt Ilion, I answer that this is just what the text seems to contemplate, for it says that the might of Aineias shall reign, not in Troy, but over the Trojans (Troessin anaxei), and the Troes are the people of the Troad (see e.g. Il. ii. 824–6).

If this were really the course of the actual history—and I need not say that the fictions of the Virgilian age establish no presumption adverse to it—I should next observe that this new Dardanian dynasty can hardly have been long-lived, or it would surely have left some name in history. On this ground, without dwelling on the supposition as more than of a certain probability, I hold that the passage rather goes to support the idea that Homer lived soon after the Troica, than the contrary doctrine.

On the other hand, the recent discoveries, affording evidence of a very complete destruction by fire, have shown it to be highly improbable that Homer could have seen enough of Troy to have had a minute knowledge of its structure. If, then, his account of the passage of Hector from his home to the Skaian Gate (Il. vi. 390 sq.) conveys the idea of a larger space than he really had to traverse, yet we are not warranted in going farther than to refer this either to the magnifying licence allowed the Poet, or to a most natural and trivial error of detail.

It is another matter, when our Explorer deals with the subject of the general dimensions of Troy. He had originally believed that Troy must have had 50,000 inhabitants, and that Hissarlik was the Pergamos or citadel. In the course of his work he found (as he considered), that the palace of Priam stood in front of the Skaian gate (p. 20), and that the primeval City of the War was built upon the primitive plateau (p. 344), and was scarce a twentieth in size of what would be expected from the Iliad, yet as large as, or larger than, Athens on its Acropolis, or the wide-wayed Mukēnai. It could not have contained more than 5000 inhabitants (p. 345), nor have yielded over 500 soldiers. As I understand his estimate, the site is of about three-and-a-half acres. He has himself, in

communication with me, compared it to Trafalgar Square.

Now it is certain that Homer, in calling the town of Troy great, cannot mean less than to imply that it was greater than the generality of the cities of his time and country. But, in the first place, it was a subject on which he might obviously be led to use some magnifying epithets. He knew the town mainly, or only, as the object of a great international struggle and convulsion. Secondly, by his reference to Athens, and especially to Mukēnai, Schliemann has removed much of his own difficulty. He had originally thought of a Pergamos apart from the City: surely in those days and countries there was hardly such a thing. He says (p. 20) Hector descended from the Palace, and hurried through the town. But in the original passage there is no descent into the town separate from a subsequent movement through it. Hector rushed or started along the well-constructed ways: when 'passing through the great city he came to the Skaian gate,' and so forth (Il. vi. 390–3). Surely the Pergamos was the town; the place of strength and defence, and of refuge for the general population hutted about the walls and the vicinity, in cabins probably of earth, with a little wood and straw[1].

[1] Edinburgh Review, April 1874, p. 530: following a suggestion of Mr. Clark.

But Homer, making use perhaps of his own titles to exaggerate in a certain measure, is not responsible for the exaggerations which we make on his behalf. Let us proceed to examine his ideas, as he has himself expressed them, of the size of Troy. This we must do through the medium of numbers, and first through the numbers of the Achaian army.

It has been commonly supposed that he means to signify the number of the invading host at 120,000. I should think 50,000 nearer his estimate. He gives 120 to each Boiotian vessel, 40 to those of Philoctetes, 'many' (πόλεες) to the Arcadian ships (Il. ii. 509, 610, 719). The Boiotians, with their soil, and their Phœnician connection, were not unlikely to have the largest ships of all; moreover, the mere number of their vessels is low in proportion to the wealth and population evinced by the large group of towns, or separate settlements, which they represented.

But, whatever he may have meant to suggest as the amount of the Achaian force, we know from his express and careful declaration, that the number of the Trojans proper, inhabitants of the City, was much less than one-tenth of it.

πολλαί κεν δεκάδες δενοίατο οἰνοχόοιο. (Il. ii. 128.)

It was by contingents from without that their numbers were swelled; and at each of a thousand Trojan watch-

fires, says the famous passage of Il. viii. 562, there were 50 men. But anyone, who has watched the Poet's use of number, will at once perceive that this is a general and figurative expression. There are but very few attempts elsewhere in the Poems, to represent a definite number in thousands; much less, then, in tens of thousands.

We can hardly contract too much our ideas of the measurement of the primeval European cities. The city was Astu, the ordinary abode of the king or lord, with his family and dependents, the seat of the sacred buildings and place of Assembly, and the more general place of refuge in time of danger. We have traces of this fact in the connection of *Fάστυ* with 'fastness,' in the etymology and sense of the Greek δῆμος[1], in the Scotch use of the word town (toun) down to the present day, for the farm inclosure; conversely in the extended sense of the Italian *castello*, to embrace a town, and in the Anglian burh[2]. What indeed are we to say, when we find that, in the period of the *Incunabula* of Rome, the Romans on the Palatine were probably faced by the Sabines on the hill of the Capitol[3]?

So much for the direct statements of Homer on the City and the after history. Inferences from particular

[1] See Arnold's Thucydides, vol. i., Appendix iii. p. 652; First Edition.
[2] See Professor Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, i. 92.
[3] Parker, Archæology of Rome, vol. i. pp. 6, 8.

objects will be considered in the sequel. But I proceed to offer some prefatory remarks on the kinds and degrees of correspondence which we are entitled to expect in the particular subject-matter

The *couche*, or layer of remains, with which we are almost exclusively concerned, is the fourth from the surface, the second from the bottom. If within this layer we find various stages of any given art, for example of pottery, or various materials used for implements, among which a succession of time is commonly to be presumed, such facts do not of themselves destroy, or even impair, the self-consistency of the objects discovered, as belonging to the same time and place. Articles of stone, of copper, and of bronze, not to mention wood, may, taken largely, have been successive, and yet in particular cases may, nay must, have been contemporaneous. Even in the same household or social rank, the superior contrivance does not at once supplant the inferior, but gradually. Differences of station and means greatly slacken the rapidity of change. Cheapness (or rather abundance and facility), ignorance, even prepossession, will cause the ruder instrument to be retained among the many, where and when the few have advanced to the more convenient or refined.

Neither, again, does a want of minute uniformity between the objects discovered at Hissarlik, and the

objects described in the Poems, of itself suffice to prove a long interval of time between the War and the Poet. Those who dispute the intervention of centuries, do not therefore allege that Homer was contemporary with the operations. And, again, few will contend, I certainly should deny, that his acquaintance with Troas and with Troy was that of a native or a resident. The impressions of a brief inspection on a quick eye and powerful retentive faculty serve well to account for all he tells us of Hissarlik and the Plain. Of the burned City he could but have seen the more massive relics: with its portable and movable objects he can have had no practical acquaintance. Nor have we any right to suppose either that there was an ethnical identity between Greece, or Achaiis, and Troy, or that they had reached, in each and every point, precisely the same stage of wealth and social development. More Asiatic in manners[1], less energetic in character, the Trojans seem to have lived longer together under the forms of civilised society, and to have been less disturbed by wars and revolutions. They were therefore certainly, or probably, somewhat more advanced, as to their higher class, in wealth; and the city was polu-chrusos poluchalcos, till it came to be exhausted by the purchase of its alliances and the other necessities of

[1] Juventus Mundi, chap. xiii; Studies on Homer, vol. iii. Ilios.

the War (Il. xviii. 288–92). Homer, then, sings of a City, of which he was neither contemporary nor denizen, and whose interior life he had not known by experience: and it is surely not too much to say that, if there be upon the whole a substantial correspondence between the objects discovered and the manners and arts described, the conclusion in favour of his nearness to the period of the Troïca becomes, at the least, highly probable.

Let us now proceed to particulars.

I. Dr. Schliemann, treating of the wall built by Poseidon (Remains, p. 345), says that Homer cannot have seen it. But if the Poet has truly described it, this fact affords if not a presumption that he saw it, yet a very strong presumption that the memory of it was recent, since a faithful account of it was not likely to be preserved for centuries after it had been buried. Now Homer's account is that it was built by Poseidon, that is to say, by artisans of a people worshipping Poseidon, and that it was ἐυρύ τε καὶ μάλα καλόν, a broad and very fine wall. This solid style of building, with quarried or large drawn stones (lithoi katoruchees or rhutoi) was a Posidonian or foreign mark. We have it among the Phaiakes (Od. vi. 267), and with Poluphemos (Od. ix. 185); not to enter upon other cases. We have no mention in Homer of any mortar used for the

joining together of these stones, whether described as quarried, or simply as drawn. Dr. Schliemann considers that he has brought this wall to light, and he has drawn the course of it (pp. 291, 347, 349). It is not easy to identify everything in his detailed descriptions, which, following the daily progress of his excavations, are necessarily given piecemeal. The thicknesses, where he states them, are great: only earth is mentioned in the interstices: and the stones, I have understood from him, are of a size which a man could not carry and which therefore would be rhutoi, or drawn stones, and would make the kind of wall which Poseidon describes as 'very fine.' 'The royal palace . . . . the great tower of Ilion, the Skaian Gate, and the great inclosing Wall, are generally composed of unhewn stones joined with earth, the less rough face of the stones being turned to the outside, so that the walls have a tolerably smooth appearance' (Remains, Introduction, p. 26). He finds the Skaian Gate identified by its position, and entire in every stone (p. 349). He finds also the palace of Priam (pp. 304, 306, 349), which was on the summit of the hill (Il. vi. 317), and that very marked structural feature, the great Tower of Troy (Il. vi. 386), in which, as well as in the Gate, it would be hard for him to be mistaken. Further, he finds a 'beautifully paved street' (p. 288 *et alibi*), leading to the Skaian Gate. There can

hardly be a finer correspondence with the text. Hector started off ἐϋκτιμένας κατ' ἀγυιάς, 'along the well laid ways,' and εὖτε πύλας ἵκανε Σκαιάς, 'when he reached the Skaian Gates,' there he was met by Andromachè (Il. vi. 391–4). The statement of the Iliad as to the Palace of Priam is that it was pericalles, 'exceedingly beautiful,' and there were in it fifty chambers of smoothed or polished stone. These must certainly have been hewn. I understand the expression to refer most probably to the interiors of these chambers. On this point the discoveries throw no light, and it is scarcely likely that, after the burning, Homer himself could have had minute information (Il. vi. 242–5).

Lastly on this subject: there are no traces of pillars in the architecture: and there is no mention of any in the Iliad. The domestic kiones of the Odyssey were probably wooden. So would probably be the aithousa or portico, constructed to receive the sun (Il. vi. 243). Of these structural agreements I can only pretend to judge from the accounts, perfectly truthful as I know them to be, of Dr. Schliemann. But, be it ever so wise to hesitate before concluding upon his identifications in detail, there remains before us a general proposition, not less important, and I think invulnerable. Namely this: on the site of Hissarlik, at a depth of some thirty feet, with three layers of successive settlements or cities

over it, in conjunction with notes of conflagration of a nature which can hardly be mistaken, are found the remains of massive walls and other structures, such as indicate connection with the great building race of primitive history in their works on the shores of the Mediterranean, and such as are thus placed in remarkable agreement with the statement of Homer concerning the intervention of Poseidon, or in other words the Phœnician or foreign origin of the walls of Troy.

II. Coming now from buildings to implements generally, they have been found, in abundance, of stone and of copper: together with many moulds of mica-schist for casting copper weapons. Besides implements there are many weapons of both materials (pp. 21, 22, 162, *et alibi*), and large masses of copper (but no tin) melted into a *stratum* of scoriae (p. 17). Of iron there has been, up to the present time, except a little of the Greek Colony, no discovery (p. 31). For a time it was supposed that there was no bronze. But two battle-axes found in the Treasure, that is to say, close to the Palace of Priam, have been found to contain respectively ninety-six parts of copper with nearly four of tin, and ninety parts of copper, with nearly eight and three quarters of tin. Let us now test the agreement of these data with the Poems.

a. The Kuanos or (probably) bronze of Homer is

extremely rare, and nowhere indubitably mentioned in an implement or weapon except on the defensive armour of Agamemnon, where it appears in ten bands on the breastplate from Kupros, and in a single boss on the shield (Il. xi. 24, 35). So the two battle-axes, found in immediate conjunction with the precious ornaments, were probably the possessions of royal or high-born persons, and imported from abroad.

b. Iron is in Homer extremely rare and precious. He mentions nothing massive that is made of this material: but names the arrow-head of Pandaros (Il. iv. 123), the dagger or knife (apparently) of Achilles (Il. xviii. 34), the cutting tool of the chariot-maker for such fine work as shaping the felloe of the wheel (Il. iv. 485), and a knife for finally slaying the oxen (Il. xxiii. 30) in the quarters of Achilles. It was also used, when raised to a high temper, for axes and adzes (Od. ix. 301–3; cf. Il. iii.). Many other proofs of its great value might be adduced. It is thus plain that, according to the Poems, there would be very little of it at Troy, and that little in small and portable objects which the captors as far as they could would carry off. It is also highly probable that objects so small would be destroyed by corrosion during so many centuries.

c. With respect to stone, it very infrequently appears in Homer. Yet it may have been intended in some

cases where the material is not specified. For example, in Il. xv. 707–12 he speaks of a battle between Greeks and Trojans of all ranks round the ship of Protesilaos. Axes of various kinds, pelekeis and axinai, are among the weapons used by the general combatants. These could not be of iron. Though there is nothing to require, there is also nothing to preclude, the supposition that many of them may have been of stone, and such as those found by Dr. Schliemann. Of portable objects in stone, other than weapons, we neither hear, nor can conjecture, much from the Poems. There was the discos or quoit (Il. ii. 774), declared to be of stone in Od. viii. 192, comp. 136. We may fairly presume the mulai of Od. xx. 106, 107 to be of stone, at which the women had to work so hard: and stones like these are often mentioned by Schliemann (p. 79, *et alibi*). To account for the want of notices of objects of stone in Homer, we may observe that few such objects would be carried by the army on account of their weight, and that the life described to us, except in the dwelling of Eumaios (who, however, was a proprietor, and originally of princely birth), is that of the highest class, while stone implements would be more in use with the mass of the community. The kissubion used for drinking by Eumaios (Od. xiv. 73) and by Poluphemos (Od. ix. 346) is supposed to have been of wood. The witness of

Dr. Schliemann to the abundance of stone instruments and implements is unequivocal (e.g. pp. 21, 270): and if no positive argument, for the agreement of age which I seek to establish, can be founded on joint testimony concerning the use of stone for portable objects at Hissarlik, neither can any contrary inference, I think, be drawn.

d. When we come to the great article of copper for weapons, implements, and utensils, the case is far more clear. We are introduced to one of the most striking of all the correspondences between the Poems and the discoveries at Hissarlik. The Poems in this respect present to us what may properly be called the copper age; if indeed χαλκὸς be copper, and it is in my opinion impossible to establish for it any other signification. So predominant was the use of chalkos, that the name of the worker in it (chalkeus) stood for the smith generally (Od. ix. 391). It is the common metal for weapons: but as tin, like iron, approached to the character of a precious metal, and is nowhere used except in the smallest quantities, the idea cannot be entertained that bronze was the ordinary material of arms and utensils. I refer on this subject to a former work[1]. I do not mean to imply that copper tools and arms abound at Hissarlik as compared with stone (p. 270), but this is the staple material of metallic

[1] Juventus Mundi, pp. 529 seqq.

objects. An analysis was made by Professor Landerer, who fills the Chair of Chemistry at Athens, to establish the fact that the material used was copper (p. 340). The most conclusive sign of this is the 'stratum of scoriae of melted lead and copper, from $\frac{1}{5}$ to $1\frac{1}{5}$ of an inch thick, which extends nearly through the whole hill at a depth of from 28 to $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet' (Remains, p. 17). Here, I apprehend, tin must have been found, if chalcos had been bronze. Under the great head of metals for objects of utility, then, the correspondence is all that can be desired.

III. Turning next to the precious metals proper, we find yet more pointed evidence. The Excavations have supplied from the 'Treasure of Priam' two head-dresses or head-ornaments of pure gold: as shown in the Remains at p. 335. It is not too much to say that this discovery enables us to construe a passage in the Iliad which in one part has hitherto only been rendered conjecturally. Andromachè, on learning the death of Hector, in the agony of her grief, flung away from her head the desmata sigaloenta, which we may translate her glistering head-dress. Of this head-dress he proceeds to enumerate the parts. They are four.

1. The kredemnon; evidently a rare one, for it was presented by Aphroditè on the occasion of the marriage with Hector. That the kredemnon is

textile, appears from the fact that Ino Leucotheè lends one to Odysseus when tossed upon the waves, to spread beneath his breast, that it may buoy him up; adding an injunction to return it, by throwing it back into the sea on reaching the shore, which we may take probably as an indication of its great value. Its light and fine material fitted it to be worn both as a veil and as a turban; and that it was used in this latter mode we may judge from its application to the battlements or walls of Troy on a brow such as that of Hissarlik (Il. xvi. 100). It was also worn or used as a veil by Penelopè (Od. i. 334).

2. Next comes the ampūx: a gold frontlet, or head-band, which crosses the forehead, and is clearly represented in the upper one of the two Engravings given in the 'Remains.' This ornament was sometimes used upon horses, but only upon the horses of the gods. See Il. v. 358, 363, 720; viii. 382.

3. After this comes the κεκρύφαλον, a word used nowhere else in Homer, but found in Aristophanes and in other authors, and meaning a net-work which confined, and more or less concealed, the hair, probably near the nape of the neck. This also was textile, and has disappeared in the fire like the kredemnon.

4. Anadesmè. Interpreted by Eustathios seira, a cord or chain, to bind round the temple (but this place is

already occupied by the ampūx): by B. Crusius *in loc.* a hair-band; by Liddell and Scott a head-band. All these seem to clash with the office of the ampūx; but there was no knowledge to justify any other specific sense, until the Hissarlik discoveries produced these two head-dresses, with their rows of pendent plaited chains of gold dropping over the brow, and then double, at greater length, falling down the side-face. The force of the epithet plectè is exactly given, and likewise even that of the preposition ana, for the anadesmè is not merely a tie or chain, but a tie *up* to something else. In point of precise rendering, nothing is now left to desire: and there seems to be strong ground for the belief that Homer's eye was conversant with this particular fashion of head-dress. The minute detail of the verses testifies to the significance of the ornament, and this again corresponds with its appearance, and with the effort Dr. Schliemann reasonably conjectures to have been made to rescue it. I give the passage entire (Il. xxii. 468–72):—

> τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα,
> ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τ' ἠδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην,
> κρήδεμνόν θ', ὅ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη
> ἤματι τῷ, ὅτε μιν κορυθαίολος ἠγάγεθ' Ἕκτωρ
> ἐκ δόμου Ἠετίωνος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἕδνα.

IV. Scarcely inferior, in their argumentative importance, to the head-dresses of gold, are the six 'blades' of

silver, like the blade of a paper-knife in form, which were also found in the 'Treasure.' These blades, or plates, are represented in the photographic *Abbildungen*, Tafel 200, and in the 'Remains' at p. 328. They are not tools or instruments, for they are adapted to no specific purpose. Neither are they ingots of a strictly measured value; for they are not quite uniform in weight, but they range from 171 to 190 grammes; four being a little over $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Troy, and two near 6 oz., the one a little exceeding, the other slightly falling short. They evidently belong to an epoch when not only coinage, and exactness of weights and measures, but all use of the precious metals in ordinary transactions of exchange, was as yet unknown, but they were roughly and approximately divided, and, besides their ornamental use, they served as elements of stored wealth, and were also employed in considerable payments or presents. Dr. Schliemann can hardly be wrong in treating them as the talanta of Homer. Weighed they doubtless were, since the same word signifies the piece of metal and the scales; but not limited to a precise and uniform weight. We have several examples of them in the Poems. The fee to the successful Judge on the Shield (Il. xviii. 507): the fourth prize in the chariot race (Il. xxiii. 269). Each of these consisted of two talents of gold. A half talent of

gold was the last or third prize in the foot race (ibid. 751); which Achilles made up to a whole talent (796). We have not any mention in the Poem of silver in talents; but the two metals were nearly on the same footing. Silver is combined with pure gold in the formation of the works described in Od. xv. 460, xviii. 295. Both seem to enjoy the honour of the epithet timeeis, precious (comp. Il. xviii. 475 with Od. iv. 614): it seems doubtful whether silver were not even the more rare. It is less frequently named than gold; and nowhere appears among the items of stored wealth. The same treatment, there can be no doubt, would generally be applied to both metals. Further, the bowls or vases (κρητῆρες) of the Poems are always of silver (Il. xxiii. 741–5; Od. iv. 615, ix. 199). But we have many cups of gold. In like manner the Hissarlik vases are all of silver: but there are cups, as well as a bottle, of gold (Remains, pp. 325–9).

V. With regard to the use of the precious metals for ornament, some of the descriptions in the Poems are certainly more advanced than the workmanship and art of the objects discovered at Hissarlik. Abundance of small personal ornaments have been found: and we see from the Poems that they were deemed appropriate for young women (Il. ii. 872), and occasionally worn by men, as Nastes the Carian (ibid.), Euphorbos

the Trojan Prince (Il. xvii. 52); and, when they had been captured, and so became trophies, by Achilles (Il. ii. 875). But the ornaments of Euphorbos seem, from the phrase ἐσφηκῶντο, to have been hair-clasps worked in the forms of wasps; and in the Odyssey (xix. 226–31) we have a single instance of an ornament highly wrought with small forms of the animal species. A dog has caught and is throttling a kid: and we find here, as upon the Shield, that almost unequalled vividness and daring of description, which seems to endow the motionless metal with the effects of real and agitated life:—

τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
ὡς οἱ χρύσεοι ὄντες, ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων,
αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαὼς ἤσπαιρε πόδεσσιν.

Turning to greater works, we do not find any proof that subjects were chased or wrought upon the bowls which (always in connection with Hephaistos or the East) are mentioned on several occasions. It may possibly be intended in the description of the finest of all these bowls, the first prize in the foot-race (Il. xxiii. 740-7)—

κάλλει ἐνίκα πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν
πολλόν· ἐπεὶ Σίδονες πολυδαίδαλοι εὖ ἤσκησαν;

but it is more probable that this 'fine working' might refer to shape and surface only. For the subjects

chased, if there had been chasing, would probably have been specified, as they are on the Breastplate and other armour of Agamemnon (Il. xi. 26), the brooch of Odysseus (sup.), and the belt of Heracles (Od. xi. 609–14). This belt, which is named as a surpassing work, carried not only the figures of animals but battles and man-slayings (androctasiai) upon it.

The vases, goblets, or cups, found by Dr. Schliemann in that assemblage of objects, packed together, and with a copper key near them, which he calls the Treasure of Priam, seem, in the photographs, to exhibit considerable beauty of form; but, except in the case of a panelled cup of gold (p. 325), they have surfaces without either device or design. They agree with the Poems, probably, in this respect, and also in offering to us, besides gold and silver, the Electron, which was a mixture of both. It is mentioned (Od. iv. 73) in a manner suited to such a composition, where the Poet describes in one line the glistering of gold, electron, silver, and ivory.

But the remains discovered at Hissarlik exhibit no works of art so advanced as the belt, brooch, and armour of Agamemnon, above mentioned; or, above all, as the Shield of Achilles. The attempts at delineating life upon the 'idols' of Hissarlik, are either doubtful or of the most elementary kind; and can hardly be said to represent form, but rather certain

rudiments of form. Now all fine art in Homer is foreign in its associations. And there is a wide interval between the elegant goblets and vases of the Treasure, and the 'owl-faced idols.' The latter seem to be manifestly domestic, for we cannot conceive that such commodities would be carried over-sea, or have a value for exchange. And the want of gradation between such articles and the higher objects, suggests that at Hissarlik, as in the Poems, these were foreign also. They could hardly have been the productions of the same people at the same time.

It remains to consider the second gap, between these superior objects and the far higher representations of Homer. Some, for example, Professor Conze, of Vienna, have found in this want of continuity, a proof that Homer's age was long posterior to that of Hissarlik. For it is by them assumed that the works of art which he described, were only copies of such as he had seen. In the interest of that humble class of the votaries of Poetry to which I belong, namely, its readers, I deny that the Poet is but the copying clerk of the actual world. Of and for every artist, this must be denied. If he copies only, he may be a modeller or draftsman, but an artist he is not. The artist as such is continually engaged in the endeavour to build the unseen upon the seen, to develop the seen into

the unseen: and wo be to him as an artist, when the unseen ceases to keep him company. That Homer had seen his Shield of Achilles, is in my belief just as true, or just as like the truth, as that Dante had seen his Paradiso, or that Shakespeare had been personally acquainted with his Hamlet, or his Cleopatra.

In an able paper, in which Professor Conze controverts, at least provisionally, the Homeric character of the discoveries at Hissarlik, he appears to treat in one and the same category the two classes of works from that place which I have endeavoured to distinguish, and simply takes no notice whatever of the points of correspondence between the higher of those classes and corresponding objects in the Poems of Homer. I am unable to perceive the grounds of the assumption in the first point, or to explain the omission in the second.

But in truth the explanation, whatever it be in principle, is wholly ineffective for the purpose at which it aims. It aims, without doubt, at placing the real Homer in an age which produced works of art such as he describes. But for such a purpose, it seems to me that he must be brought down to the age of Phidias, if even that will suffice. In other words, Homer, be he singular or plural, is, according to the universal conviction, an archaic poet: and there was no archaic period,

in which he could have had an experience in works of art such as to enable him by pure imitation to produce the descriptions he has given us, or materially to narrow that gap which I admit now separates the best products of the Hill of Hissarlik from his glorious formations. Of course I admit freely that I cannot from these highly ornamented works of art, argue positively for his nearness in time to the events he describes.

The subject is of so much importance, that I must enter somewhat farther into it, and endeavour to draw out with clearness the propositions I maintain:—

1. We are not yet in possession of all that the Hill contains.

2. We know from Il. xviii. 288–92, that much of the stored wealth and choice ornaments (keimelia kala) had disappeared from Troy under the pressure of the War and its necessities.

3. Of such as remained the captors would as a rule succeed in carrying off the best.

4. It is singular that the only representations of life yet found, are of so indifferent an order that Homer, had he seen them, would have been most unlikely to describe them as they are: yet if he were conversant with such objects, they might surely have suggested to him similar representation of life in the beautiful and noble forms he has conceived and described.

5. The most notable objects from Hissarlik, namely, vases, cups, bottles, and the two head-dresses, appear to be in close correspondence with the Homeric descriptions of corresponding objects, and, if taken by themselves, supply a strong presumption of proximity in time.

6. Under all three heads allowance should be made. Yet it remains a remarkable fact that Homer has certain other descriptions, including the highest representation of life in metallic works of art, to which there is nothing from Hissarlik, up to the present time, that answers at all. There are—

a. (Probably.) The hair-ornament of Euphorbos.

b. The helmet, shield, and shield-belt of Agamemnon.

c. The belt of Heracles.

d. The clasp of the Nineteenth Odyssey.

e. The Shield of Achilles.

f. The cup of Nestor with doves about the handles (Il. xi. 632).

7. I demur the inference from these facts that Homer must have lived at some far later period, when he could have seen such works. Even if he had never seen any representations of life, his imagination might have conceived them. But it is more than probable that he had seen rude representations of life, such as, or perhaps better than, the Hill contained; and archaic

statues, such as we must presume to have existed in the temple of Athenè on the Pergamos, and therefore in other temples. From these elementary suggestions he might well have formed the higher images and noble combinations which we find in the Poems.

8. It is true that antiquity has handed down to us shields elaborately adorned, which might have suggested the Shield of Achilles. Of these specimens are to be found in the Vatican, brought from Etruria, and in the British Museum. Mr. Newton, than whom no one is of greater authority, refers them, I believe, of course approximately, to the eighth or ninth century B.C., and terms the Art-period Græco-Phœnician. But none of these Shields, so far as I have learned, exhibit either the magnificent cosmological idea, or the exuberant and all-embracing detail, of the Shield of Achilles.

That Shield, it must always be borne in mind, is represented as the work of a god, executed under circumstances which go far to warrant our terming it his masterpiece. Why should it thus have been referred to a divine origin, if it was merely an improvement of degree upon human productions known to the experience of the Poet?

Even if Homer had seen Shields, such as now remain, much must have remained to his imagination before he could achieve the description of a work which has

remained, so far as I know, without a rival; though Ghiberti, in the fifteenth century of our era, made some approach to it on the Gates of the Baptistery at Florence, and Flaxman was content to copy from it almost in our own day.

Lessing, in his Laocoon[1], has discussed with luminous perspicacity the question whether the group of the Laocoon was taken from the famous description in the second Æneid, or whether the Poet copied from the Sculptor. He wisely decides that neither was a mere follower of the other. Each embodied his thought according to the laws of his own art.

Shields of the Græco-Phœnician style may suggest a similar question with regard to the great achievement of Hephaistos. If there was a relation between them, I cannot but believe that the Artist here was indebted to the Poet, rather than the Poet to the Artist. It is known that the Italian Painters of the generations following Dante, modelled their representations of the unseen world upon the conceptions of the *Divina Commedia*. I know no reason why the Græco-Phœnician art should not have owed a like obligation to the Eighteenth Iliad. And this supposition seems to accord rather notably with our finding these Shields in Italy rather

[1] Lately made accessible to all English readers by the Translation of my accomplished friend Sir R. Phillimore.

than in Greece. For it is, I apprehend, to Phœnicia that we are to look, in order to supply the link of association between the sculptural art of the two Peninsulas; and Italy affords a more likely home than Greece, both for commerce and for Art, at the period supposed.

Lastly, I would observe that the conclusion, which I submit as probable, cannot be tested by consideration of the existing monuments of Art alone, but must be judged according to the whole circumstances of the case. If strong evidence, in many forms, is found to throw the epoch of Homer back beyond the Dorian Conquest, and to shew him to have been a native of Achaian Greece, these circumstances must legitimately influence the judgment to be formed upon the interesting question, how far Homer described, how far he developed and advanced upon, the Art ideas and creations of his day.

Nor is it possible to deny all weight to the cognate evidence derived from such other descriptions of the Remains from Hissarlik, as either correspond exactly with the representations of the Poems, or appear to deviate, if at all, by a shade or two of greater advance towards modernism.

With these remarks I pass from the subject.

VI. We last considered a case where the descriptions of the Poet were much in advance of the Hissarlik Remains, I now take one where he seems to be slightly behind them.

There is but a single undeniable mention in the Poems of anything that can be called writing. The marks or signs, which may have been scratched or set upon the lots deposited by the Greek chiefs in the helmet of Agamemnon (Il. vii. 175), cannot safely be taken into account; but only those signs or marks of ill omen, semata lugra, which conveyed the deadly message of Proitos to the king of Lukiè (Il. vi. 168). Even if these signs were such as Bellerophon would have known, the matter was entirely among personages who were foreign or of foreign descent[1]. There was no such thing as writing for common or domestic use.

The learned Editor of the 'Remains' has subjoined to the work a dissertation on the patterns, so 'strange and novel,' which are impressed upon terra-cotta whorls, seals, vases, and other objects from Hissarlik (Remains, pp. 363 sq.). Very eminent scholars have applied themselves to find a meaning for these marks[2]. Many of them are believed to be primitive sacred emblems of the Aryan race (p. 365). There is an absence 'of Egyptian, and almost equally of Assyrian influence;' with no trace of Phœnician characters. The emblems above mentioned are found at all depths up to the Greek Ilion (ibid.). It appears to be believed by very competent judges, that there is an affinity between the His-

[1] Juventus Mundi, p. 130.

[2] Suabo, Edinburgh Review, April 1874, p. 530.

sarlik and the Cypriote inscriptions: and to be held morally certain that those of Hissarlik are not mere ornaments or symbols, but have a meaning, and are true signs.

With regard to the absence of Phœnician characters, I venture to observe that these are, I believe, the characters in the Phœnician inscriptions, of which M. Renan assures us none can be dated with confidence earlier than 500 B.C. The Moabite Stone is a later discovery, and, as I am told, carries the use of these characters back to the eighth or ninth century B.C. There is still an evident gap between them and the period of Homer. On the other hand, a strong connection between Cyprus and Phœnicia at the time of the Troica, can hardly be doubted. Some mystery hangs over the question what language was spoken by the Phoinikes of the Poems. It seems certain that in them the words of Semitic origin are extremely few. Nor is it doubtful that the message of Proitos carries at every point strong Phœnician and Asiatic marks. But this, whatever else it was, seems to have been a private and confidential cipher, apparently of the rarest employment. There is no direct statement that the pinax or tablet was fastened so as to be invisible to the bearer, though it was folded. But the Hissarlik inscriptions are placed upon vessels meant for convivial or social use. We seem then probably

to have in them a more developed, and especially a more popular, state of the art of writing, than in the Poems. In this important respect, therefore, the Poems are rather the more archaic of the two. But the difference may be referable to differences of seat, of habits, and of race; for no one can suppose Trojan and Hellene to have been, in strictness, ethnically one, though both were probably of the Aryan stock. This difference is illustrated by what has already been said of the Aryan religious symbols, which are found in all the *couches* at Hissarlik, *until* we come to the Greek Ilion; but to its inhabitants they seem to have been unknown.

The negative evidence of the Poems, with respect to writing, I hold to be among the strongest indications of their very great antiquity.

VII. I take next the important subject of the use of images for religious worship. This also, as far as the Poems are concerned, is a matter in respect to which we have but one clear instance. The solemn procession of the Sixth Iliad carries the dedicated veil or robe to the temple of Athenè, on the summit of the hill, where the Priestess Theano receives it from them, and deposits it on the knees of the goddess (Il. vi. 297–303) *θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐν γούνασιν ἠϋκόμοιο.* From the common Homeric expression, that such and such things lie 'in the lap of the gods,' Mure argues that the use of statues of the deities must have been rather

extensive. But might not the anthropomorphic idea of divinities, so clearly conceived by the Hellenic mind, have availed, of itself, to bring this phrase into use, apart from any great familiarity with the visible incorporation in an image? Considering how much we hear of altars, temples, groves, and glebes, we must surely (as in the case of writing) have heard more of statues, if they had been common. Either they must have been rare, or they must have been, to the Poet, unattractive.

Such being the evidence of the Poems, we turn to the Hissarlik discoveries, and find not a single relic or sign of anything that could be called a statue. But we find by hundreds, upon jugs and other objects in *terra cotta*, rude delineations, mostly bearing what may be taken for a resemblance to the owl. These Dr. Schliemann thinks to have been idols, and, even if not objects of absolute worship, they may have been symbolical in the religious sense. It is curious that the only statue of which we are intelligibly informed should be that of Athenè, and that these idols, or symbols, should, as I gather from the work and from Dr. Schliemann, all be female, and be generally placed in apparent relation with Athenè, through her favourite bird the owl.

Now we find from Pausanias that there were, down to his day, in certain temples of Greece, wooden statues of Gods (xoana), as well as statues formed of other materials (including clay) less durable than stone and

marble, or than bronze; and that the use of these materials prevailed especially in primitive times[1]. Such objects were called daidala, and it was from them, he thinks, that the personal name Daidalos afterwards arose[2]. It was only by degrees that they came to represent the human form at all[3]. Only by degrees, too, they assumed the character of works of art. Indeed, if we survey the world all over at the present day, it is singular to notice how little and how rarely marked religious worship and true beauty have een associated together in images.

The material of wood or clay—but wood is the most probable of the two—will account for the disappearance of any statues which may have been at Troy, under the action of fire. But the rudeness of such objects would also, probably, serve to account for the very slight notice (to say the least) taken of them by Homer. It is quite plain from the Poems that he did not describe all he saw. His mind was in the best sense eclectic, and he had a strong ingrained repugnance to the debased. It is easy to censure the Fable of Arès and Aphroditè in the Odyssey. But, in the Books of the great Voyage, he is depicting foreign manners, and it is not so much remarkable that he should have introduced this single specimen of their dissoluteness,

[1] Paus. viii. 17. 2. [2] Paus. ix. 3. 2.

[3] Preface of Siebelis to Pausanias. Leips., 1822, pp. xli seqq.

as that he should so greatly and so generally have purified the foul material, with which he had to deal, in the mythology and life of Syria and of Egypt. Of what constituted the distinctive character of Thoth in Egypt, we have no sign in his Hermes, except in the genial phrases eriounios and dōtor eaōn. Images of pollution have been discovered[1] at Hissarlik (Remains, p. 78): but in lieu of these, Homer gives us the touching pain and shame of Priam at the bare idea of the exposure and laceration of the person (Il. xxii. 75). This is in reality by far the greatest discrepancy between the descriptions of the Poems, and the manners revealed at Hissarlik. It is to be accounted for not by the vain dream of a progressive growth in purity, but partly by the simpler and better manners of the contemporary Hellenes, partly by the higher standard and more refined sense of the Poet. But if even in the moral sphere this agency is traceable, much more, and more entire, must we suppose it in the domain of the imagination. As he has commemorated the beauty of horses, so doubtless he would have recorded the beauty of statues, if they had been beautiful: and as to the ugly scratchings and attempts at delineating form upon what may have been the Penates of the Troad, it is likely that the Greeks had none such, but much more than likely that, even if Homer knew of them,

[1] This, if I understand the work aright, was in the lowest stratum of all.

he would 'pass by on the other side,' and take no notice of their deformity.

In the matter of worship and images, then, I conceive that the inferences to be drawn from the actual Hissarlik remains, are in favour of the Poet's proximity in time to the War of Troy.

VIII. The remaining principal head of objects discovered at Hissarlik is that of pottery: and here also the evidence tends to show a condition of the art nearly contemporaneous with that described by Homer. The references to it are extremely slight in the Poems. The movement of the youths and maidens in the Dance upon the Shield, is compared to the running of the wheel as the potter tries it. We have here the word kerameus for the potter; but he does not appear among the demioergoi, or in any passage but this single one (Il. xviii. 599); and only in a single place are we told of the use of earthenware vessels. Much wine was drunk out of them, on a given occasion, in the house of Amūntor, the father of Phoinix (Il. ix. 469). It is pretty certain that, at a time when the potter's wheel had been invented, common pottery must have been a commodity of extensive popular use in Greece. But it is equally certain that if works of art, and of real beauty in form or decoration, had been known to Homer, we should have heard of them. The natural inference is that the wheel was just

beginning to be known, and that the common pottery in use was hand-made, without pretensions to beauty, and therefore not within the usual range of the Poet's notice. This I understand to be generally the case with the Pottery of the fourth, or Priamic, *stratum* at Hissarlik[1]. The great mass of the objects found, I learn from Dr. Schliemann, are hand-made: some are wheel-made (p. 49), and well-glazed, so as to obtain the glowing epithet of 'splendid' (p. 15). In two cases only (p. 15) there was painting, and to judge from the specimen engraved (p. 55), very rude painting. If the objects from Hissarlik belong to a state of things at all different from that of the Poems, it is rather to a more than a less advanced condition of the art that they appear to point.

I have now gone through the main classes of objects discovered. Some minor points might be mentioned. Both Hissarlik and the Poems testify to a limited amount of fine work in ivory. Both imply the absence of anything like an art of painting. The correspondence of the material and formation of the helmet with the Poems (Remains, 279–81) is remarkable. Of coin, as might be expected, there is no trace. It is perhaps

[1] In the lowest stratum of all there was pottery, excellent though not of fine workmanship, which suggested to Dr. Schliemann that it had been made by the aid not of the wheel but of some other machine. Remains, pp. 76, 77.

noteworthy, that no articles connected with the harnessing of the chariot or horse have yet been found. Traces of Assyrian art in Troy, corresponding with a relic at Mukēnai (p. 111), are quite within the range of reasonable expectation[1]. The inferior civilization, betokened by the layers No. 2 and No. 3 from the surface, agrees with the obscurity of Troy in the ages after the War, and before the Greek Colony.

Upon the whole there appears to arise from this comparison strong probable evidence of a nearly corresponding and contemporaneous condition of arts and manners, between the descriptions of the Poems, and the disclosures of the Hill. The variations, such as they are, tell both ways. At the same time it must be borne in mind, that the excavations of Hissarlik are not yet concluded, and that further results may modify materially the bearings of the case. I admire the tone of Professor Conze, who, writing in September of the present year, says that he rather puts questions, than announces inference. And, while submitting for trial my own inferences, I may properly remind the reader that the evidence, with which we shall have to deal in the Second Part of this work, stands upon ground entirely independent of the discoveries of Hissarlik.

[1] Juventus Mundi, p. 524.

CHAPTER III.

HOMER AND THE DORIAN CONQUEST.

I MUST confess it to be a common assumption, repeated in a multitude of quarters, that Homer was an Asiatic Greek, living after the great Eastward Migration. The number and credit of its adherents has been such that I might have been abashed by their authority, but for the fact that the adhesion seems to have been very generally no more than the mechanical assent which is given, provisionally, as it were, to every current tradition, before it comes to be subjected to close examination. At the point to which my endeavours to examine the text of the Poems have led me, when I confront the opinion that he was an Asiatic Greek born after the Dorian conquest, I can only say to it, 'aroint thee.' I could almost as easily believe him an Englishman, or Shakespeare a Frenchman, or Dante an American.

In support of this proposition, I have met with but

little of serious argument. The elegant but very slight treatise of Wood adopted it, and occupied the field in this country, at a period (1775) when the systematic study of the text had not yet begun. The passage in Il. iv. 51[1] requires, I think, no such conclusion. But if it did (though this remedy is not one to be lightly adopted) it ought itself, as I hold, to be rejected without hesitation. I will only here mention a few of the arguments against the opinion which denies to Homer a home in Achaian Greece; only premising that he lived under the voluntary system, sang for his bread, and had therefore to keep himself in constant sympathy with the prevailing, and so to speak uppermost, sympathies of his audience.

1. It is the Achaian name and race, to which the Poems give constant and paramount glory. But, after the invasion of the Heraclids, the Achaians had sunk to be one of the most insignificant, and for the time discredited, portions of the Greek people.

2. Conversely, if Homer had sung at such a period, the Dorians, supreme in the Greek Peninsula, and the Ionians rising in Attica, or distinguished and flourishing in Asia Minor, could not have failed to hold a prominent and favourable position in the Poems. Whereas, while the older names of Argeioi and Danaoi are constantly put forward, the Dorian name, but twice casually men-

[1] Studies, &c., vol. i. p. 39.

tioned, is altogether insignificant; and the Ionian name, besides being obscure, is coupled with the epithet ἑλκεχίτωνες, tunic-trailing, or, if we translate in a more friendly spirit, 'with tunics that swept the ground,' in the one place where the Ionian soldiery are introduced [1]. This is surely a disparaging designation for troops.

3. Not less important are the considerations connected with the Aiolian title. In the later Greek tradition, we have numerous notices of Aiolians as settled in various parts of Greece [2]. But none of these can be considered as historical, in the form they actually bear. When we go back to Homer, whom many have called an Aiolian Greek, we find that he was not even conscious of the existence of Aiolians, but only of Aiolids. He brings before us a variety of persons and families, holding the highest stations, and playing important parts in the early history of the country, who are descended from or connected with an Aiolos. This Aiolos has every appearance of a mythical Eponymist. But though Homer knows perfectly well the Dorians and Ionians, while the Achaians are his main theme, of an Aiolian tribe he is absolutely ignorant. And this we perfectly understand, if (as I contend) he was an Achaian Greek, or a Greek anterior to the Dorian Conquest.

But the first result of that conquest was what has

[1] Il. xiii. 685. [2] Thirlwall, Hist. Greece, vol. i. chap. iv.

obtained the name of the Aiolic migration. Many fugitives, expelled from various parts of Greece, passed into the north, crossed to Asia Minor, conquered Lesbos, founded Cuma, occupied the country 'from Cuzicos on the Propontis to the river Hermos,' and named it Aiolis[1], under which designation it has an important place in history.

If Homer were an Aiolian Greek, or an Asiatic Greek at all, Aiolis having been a principal Greek conquest in Asia, and the oldest among them, how could he have been ignorant of the Aiolian name? How could he have effectively denied the existence of that name by giving us Aiolids, scattered members of a particular family, very few in number, very illustrious in position, but no community or tribe? The distinction is a vital one; for as he knows nothing of a tribe in the Aiolian case, so he knows nothing of an Eponymist or family in the Dorian or Achaian cases.

4. This portion of the argument becomes yet more cogent when we consider that, in the Aiolis of the period following the Dorian conquest, were included the Plain and site of Troy. Now if Homer had been an Aiolian Greek, or a Greek of the later Ionic migration, he must have sung among people many of whom were familiar

[1] Mitford's Greece, vol. i. chap. v. sect. 2; Thirlwall, chap. xii (vol. ii. 82. 12mo. edition); Strabo, Bk. xiii. pp. 582, 586; Grote, vol. ii. p. 26 (Ed. 1851).

with the topography of the spot. But I hold it to be certain that, while he has given us the local features of the Site and Plain sufficiently for a large identification, he has handled them loosely and at will in points of detail. He has treated the Plain without any assumption of a minute acquaintance with it, just as one who was sketching, boldly but slightly, a picture for his hearers, and not as one who laid his scene in a place with which they were already personally familiar, and which formed by far the most famous portion of the country they inhabited. The long and almost microscopic controversy, which has been carried on by learned men in ancient and modern times with respect to the question of the Site, of itself suffices to justify my assertion as to his treatment of the features of the Plain.

But I will illustrate this position by an instance. He gives us as close to Troy two fountains, which were sources of the Scamander, and of which one was hot, the other cold. The Bounarbashi fountains may fairly be called part of the sources of the Scamander, but Bounarbashi is not Troy, and the fountains are not two but many, and are not different in temperature. The only mode of reconciliation, on this part of the case, is, that Homer might have heard of a steam over the water in one part of the year which was not seen in another, and so might have dealt with the subject, much as he has

divided the Arctic days and nights between the Kimmerians and the Laistrugones. But this poetical solution would of itself prove the narrowness of his local knowledge. If then we pass from Bounarbashi to the true Troy at Hissarlik, we have the advantage of minute details, carefully set out by Dr. Schliemann (p. 194). The result is that there are not two fountains, but four; that two of them may be said to form a double one, but both have the same temperature: that none of them are sources of the Scamander at all: that the Scamander does proceed from a hot and a cold spring, but these are far away from Troy, hidden in Mount Ida.

5. The Athenians, who have, at the epoch of the Dorian Conquest, been the friends and hosts of the non-Dorian Refugees, must have been in very high estimation with a Bard sprung from the emigration which they fed. But their general position in the Poems is one of inferiority; their chief is undistinguished; he is even capable of terror, which never happens with any great or genuine Achaian chieftain; and the passage of the Catalogue, in which he and they are praised, is wholly isolated, stands in odd contrast with the general strain of the Catalogue itself, and is on the whole perhaps the most justly, as well as the most generally, suspected passage in the Poems.

6. In the descriptions of the Greek Catalogue, there

are not less than seventy points of what may be called distinct local colour or association. It consists of 265 lines. Of these from twenty to thirty give the numbers in ships, and a larger number detail historic legends. Epithets, indicating and appealing to local knowledge, and as it were challenging contradiction, are of incessant occurrence. There are eleven among the towns of Boiotia alone. The Trojan Catalogue, embracing the whole west coast of Asia Minor, is in sixty-two verses; but instead of having a note of local colour for each three lines or thereabouts, has only one for each ten. How is this compatible with the doctrine that Homer was an Asiatic Greek, that he pursued his vocation as a minstrel chiefly on the east side of the Archipelago (as the richer and more peaceful side), and that he was a comparative stranger in the Greek Peninsula?

7. I shall deal separately in this work with the Hymn to Apollo. As it cannot, in its present form, be the work of the Poet of the Iliad and Odyssey, the authority of the passage quoted from it by Thucydides is not great; but the assertion contained in the passage itself is not that Homer was an Asiatic Greek (inf. p. 92). It is only that he being blind, and from the tone of the lines apparently in advanced life, was a dweller in Chios.

8. It is true that the Poet's knowledge of the South

of Greece, and especially of the Islands on the West, cannot be shown to have been either universal or exact; but of Asia Minor, except at the extreme North-Western corner, the scene of the War, he has shown very little knowledge indeed.

9. Is it conceivable that, after a Revolution involving such extensive change, and such translocation of races, as the Return of the Heraclids, not one word betraying any reference to it should be found in 27,600 lines, except (Il. iv. 51) a single and doubtful passage which may be held to refer to a destruction of Sparta, Argos, and Mukēnai by this Revolution? Nay, it is impossible to rely even upon these lines as an historical testimony or allusion to the facts of the Revolution, because it does not correspond with those facts. With respect to Argos, we are not warranted in asserting that so much as its political position was changed by the return of the Heraclids, much less that it was destroyed. There was no destruction, as far as we know, of any of the three cities. All that we can assert of it, as probably true, is that it transferred the Greek hegemony from Mukēnai to Sparta.

10. But this strong negative reasoning is less strong than the positive argument. *What* is it, what men, what manners, what age is it that Homer sings of? I aver that they are Achaian men, Achaian manners,

an Achaian age. The atmosphere which he breathes is Achaian. It is all redolent of the youth and health of the nation, its hope, its ardour, and its energy. How could the Colonies in Asia Minor have supplied him with his ideas of free yet kingly government? What do we know of any practice of oratory there, such as could have inspired his great speeches and debates? He shows us the Achaian character in the heroic form, with its astonishing union of force and even violence, with gentleness and refinement; how did he learn of this but by observation of those among whom, and whose representatives, he lived? There is an entireness and an originality in that Achaian life, a medium in which all its figures move, which was afterwards vaguely and faintly embodied by poets in the idea of an heroic age, such as hardly could have been, and such as we have not the smallest reason to suppose was, reproduced on a new soil, and in profoundly modified circumstances, after the Migration.

11. In truth, the traditions about the birthplace of Homer are covered with marks truly mythical. That is, they are just such as men, in the actual course of things, were likely to forge. If he had lived and sung amidst an Achaian civilization, yet that civilization was soon and violently swept away. The most masculine, but the hardest and rudest, offspring of the Hellenic

stock were brought to the front, and became supreme for centuries; the Dorian race, a race apparently incapable, throughout all time, of assimilating the finer elements of Greek civilization. Together with the more genial and appreciative portion of the nation, the recitation of the Poems could not but migrate too. Hence without doubt the tradition, that Lucourgos brought them into Greece; that is, he probably brought them back into Greece, to melt, or smelt, if he could, his men of iron. But, during all the time of their banishment from the Peninsula, these Poems may well have had an enduring continuous currency among the children of those, whose sires in recent generations had so loved to hear them, and whose remoter heroes had, or were thought to have, received from them the gift of immortality.

Thus, by a natural progression, as the Poems were for the time Asiatic, all relating to them, and most of all the Singer, came to be claimed as Asiatic too. In the verse Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ, we have set forth as candidates for the honour of having given him birth, cities of which only one (Argos) has a considerable interest in the action of the 'Iliad,' but most of which, as the seats of an after civilization and power, had doubtless harboured and enjoyed the works. Such, it appears to

me, is no unnatural explanation of the growth and progress of an opinion which, when tried upon its merits only, must, I think, seem a strange one to those who have at all tried to measure truly the extraordinary nearness of association and close and ardent sympathy, between Homer and the men and deeds he celebrates.

The upshot seems to be, that we have ample reasons against believing Homer to have been an Asiatic Greek: but that we can also discern ample reasons why there should have arisen, in the historic times, a report and belief that he was an Asiatic Greek. It was from the Asiatic Colonies that letters and philosophy as matter of fact came back to Greece, and the state of historical knowledge and record was not such as to enable the inhabitants of the Greek Peninsula to distinguish with precision, in regard to a remote age and person, either the place or the date to which he belonged. Their oldest associations of literature, those of the Homeridai and the Ilian Cycle, were attached to the Hellenism of Asia, and they naturally and spontaneously, but without the means of critical inquiry, placed Homer in company with those associations, and treated him as their Crown.

12. A few words may be required, and will be sufficient to dispose of the very slight pleas urged by Wood (to whom, however, we have much reason to be grateful),

for accepting an Asiatic origin and *habitat* for Homer. They are as follows[1]:—

(1) That he places the Locrians beyond sacred Euboia (πέρην ἱερῆς Εὐβοίης, Il. ii. 535). But the word πέρην does not, as he supposed it did, require a reference to the local position of the speaker. It means 'over against.' Homer probably describes the position of the Locrians by reference to Euboiè, either because of the consecrating epithet, or because the Abantes, its inhabitants, were a particularly martial and distinguished portion of the Greek army (Il. ii. 536, 541–4; iv. 464).

(2) That he places the Echīnades at the mouth of the Acheloos; (πέρην ἁλὸς, Ἠλιδος ἄντα). The sense of 'beyond' is here sufficiently well suited to perēn, though I should prefer 'over-sea' (Il. ii. 626). But the expression would have been inappropriate in the mouth of an Asiatic Greek, to whom the whole of continental Greece was 'beyond sea,' and not the Echīnades in particular. It is eminently suited to an Achaian Greek; for it treats Peloponnesos as the head and centre of Greece. It seems also to mark the regular progression in the due order of the Catalogue. The last Contingent he had named was that of Elis: 'now' we may suppose ourselves to hear him, I take next the Echīnades on the other side of the water. Very

[1] Wood's Essay, p. 8 (Ed. 1775).

intelligible, if spoken in the Peninsula, much less so if spoken in Asia.

(3) Eumaios, in Od. xv. 403, places his native island Suriè, 'beyond or above' Ortugiè. Wood argues that as from Ithaca, Suriè, which he takes to be Syra, should have been described as nearer to the speaker than Ortugiè, which he takes to be Delos. It is needless to enter here upon the attempts made to interpret the tropai ēelioio, turns of the sun, in conformity with this view; since there is no reason whatever to believe that the places are correctly identified, and every reason to the contrary.

(4) He cites[1] the passage Il. ix. 4, where Boreas and Zephuros blow down from Thrace upon the sea. But I am at a loss to see that it bears in any way upon the argument.

(5) He cites also the violence attached by Homer to the action of Zephuros, and says this is its true Ionian character[2]. But if it be the Ionian character of Zephuros, so I apprehend must it be the character of the same wind amidst the rocky islands of the west coast of Greece. If Homer has attached elsewhere (Od. iv. 567) a somewhat different character to this wind, it may be as we attach a diversity of idea to the north-west and the west wind respectively. The

[1] Wood's Essay, p. 18.

[2] Ibid. p. 25.

Zephuros of Homer covers an arc of the circle including both.

(6) The Poet, he thinks[1], treats countries as unfamiliar, in proportion to their remoteness from Ionia. This is directly at variance with what we observe in the Catalogue; and nowhere, except upon the Plain of Troy, have we so much local detail as in Ithaca, at the outside of the sphere of the Poet's geographical experience.

I think it will be admitted that the texture of Wood's observations is extremely slight: so much so, that they could hardly have been produced at the present stage of Homeric study.

I have touched on this collateral subject, for, I think, sufficient reasons. It was needful to enter my protest against the notion that the Poems were or could have had their birthplace in Asia, and after the Dorian invasion. Over the period preceding that invasion, Egypt, even in the decline of its power, still cast a majestic shadow; from out of the bosom of that Empire it was that immigration, navigation, and probably the direct exercise of political power, had carried forth the seeds of knowledge and the arts, and had deposited them in the happiest soil in which they were ever to germinate. And with the indirect signs and effects of

[1] Wood's Essay, p. 30.

this remarkable process, the Poems are charged throughout. I am soon about to draw attention, not only to these numerous and sometimes obscure indications, but to notes which, though few in number, are generally of a very direct character. And I feel that they could hardly appear other than an idle dream to minds tenaciously prepossessed with the belief that Homer was an Asiatic Greek of the period after the Migration. Egypt then had come to be for Greece, except occasionally, no more than a name: its greatness was forgotten; it was neither friend nor foe, so far as we know; the relations, which had once subsisted, were buried in utter darkness; the primeval migrations from the East had assumed the form almost of old wives' fables. A poet of that day and place would scarcely have had occasion to give so much as a token of the existence of Egypt. And if the notes on which I shall now dwell, or the many and varied notes which others have observed, have substance in them, they certainly supply a new argument against placing the composition of the Poems, as to their substance, after the Dorian Conquest.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE HYMN TO THE DELIAN APOLLO.

I SUPPOSE the general opinion concerning the *Hymni Homerici* to be that which has been expressed by Matthiae in his Prolegomena (Leipsic, 1800, p. 10), namely, that they cannot justly be, and are not commonly by the most competent judges, ascribed to the author of the Iliad. Speaking generally, the question has reached a stage at which pains would be wasted in discussing it. Some, however, desire to make an exception on behalf of the Hymn to Apollo: if not as a whole, yet after dividing it into two parts, whereof one is called the Hymn to the Delian Apollo, the other to the Pythian; and, for the former of these two, the honour of Homeric authorship is claimed. Such is the language of Ilgen in his edition of 1796. And he has proceeded to assign his grounds in a recital which may properly be taken for a point of departure in these remarks.

Parum me movet Thucydidis testimonium (iii. 104), *auctoris satis gravis; parum Aristophanis* (Ὄρν. 574[1]),

[1] Ἶριν δέ γ' Ὅμηρος ἔφασκ' ἰκέλην εἶναι τρήρωνι πελείῃ.

qui vs. 114 *hymni Homeri nomine laudat. Hi enim testes, etsi antiqui, et fide maximè digni, tamen ab Iliaci carminis œtate nimio temporis intervallo disjuncti sunt. Movet me linguæ ac sententiarum similitudo, rerum convenientia, et vetustatis robigo.* Ilgen, Hymni Homerici, 1796, Introduction, pp. xv, xvi.

The citation made by Aristophanes is not of great importance; and this not only because the passage is a suspected one (Bekker, *in loc.*). There is a doubt whether the reference may not be made to Il. v. 778[1] rather than to the Hymn. In neither case is it exact. In the Iliad, Herè and Athenè are spoken of. In the Hymn, Eilithuia is included with Iris, and as the argument turns on the flying of Immortals, it does not appear why both are not cited. Granting that the Hymn is probably intended in the reference, we cannot be surprised if, in his burlesque argument, Aristophanes was content to rely upon the vague sentiment then current, which loosely assigned to Homer, and described by his name, much that no one now would suppose to have been his.

But the passage of Thucydides is perfectly explicit, and carries weight with some who may not have examined that internal evidence, on which Ilgen relies. It may also be admitted, that the lines relating to

[1] Gultman de Hymn. Hom. Hist. Crit., p. 30.

the blind Bard of Chios are of a beauty, which it is not easy to match in the other Hymns.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the authority of Thucydides, in a case like this, is not to be measured by his judgment or his accuracy as an historian. It is not in that character that he is writing. He had no historical *data* to rely on. Either he is proceeding upon a mere popular opinion, or upon a critical conclusion at which he had arrived. The popular opinion of his day was not founded on any results of critical research, and for this purpose is a matter of little or no account. His critical conclusion has not the degree of weight which it would have possessed, had it been delivered in an age like our own, when the art of literary criticism has been long studied, its precepts digested, and its tradition formed.

We are then within bounds in holding, that the opinion of Thucydides will not warrant us in ascribing to Homer the Hymn to the Delian Apollo, if the internal evidence shall be found to tell in an opposite direction. Now this internal evidence would properly be taken first under the heads of style and diction; secondly, with reference to the mode in which traditions and manners are represented. The question of conformity or inconformity with the poems admitted as Homeric, the Iliad and the Odyssey, may thus be fairly

tried. This is the *rerum convenientia* to which Ilgen refers, but on which I venture with some confidence to question his judgment.

The inquiry is relevant and material in determining whether Homer was an Asiatic Greek, who was born and bred in an age and country altogether severed from the old Achaian traditions, or whether he had habitually breathed their atmosphere in the Hellenic peninsula. For the passage in Thucydides, unless it be set aside by evidence, is a serious impediment to the reception of the latter, which is also, I apprehend, the sounder opinion: indeed, I am driven to think, the only admissible judgment.

I do not deny the *vetustatis robigo*, alleged by Ilgen; but I think it the rust or mould of an antiquity less remote than that of the Poems. The *linguæ ac sententiarum similitudo* I cannot admit; but I shall deal sparingly with them in so far as they are matters of opinion, or matters involving philological knowledge which I do not possess. In regard to the *rerum convenientia*, what I hold is, *that the mode of handling, as to manners and traditions, in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo, is entirely incompatible with any belief that it can have been produced by the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey.*

The Hymns are, in my view, such as we might

reasonably have expected them to be upon the supposition that the Iliad and the Odyssey were the offspring of the Greek Peninsula, but that these were produced in Asia Minor after the great migration eastwards. For what we see in the History of this Eastern *Magna Græcia* is a rather enfeebled reproduction of the Hellenic character. Compare, for example, the resistance of the true stock to Dareios and to Xerxes, with the easy conquests of Croisos and of Curos over the Ionians and Aiolians of the Continent; whose speculative faculty, it may be, was sharpened by Asiatic contact and probable blood-mixture, but whose general standard of manhood had obviously declined. The Poet of the Iliad and the Odyssey was surely bred in a more bracing atmosphere.

It may be said with truth that the passage cited by Thucydides contains a probable testimony to the Asiatic birth or residence of Homer, and that it ought not to be repudiated on the ground of evidence drawn from the body of the Hymn, from which it may have been originally dissociated. Possibly it may be argued that Thucydides, citing the προοίμιον to Apollo, uses the word in its original sense of a preamble or introduction, whereas the second of his citations is hard upon the close of the Hymn as it stands. I do not say we can make sure that the composition in its detail, as it now

stands, represents the exact form in which it originally appeared. But the passage, with the farewell it includes, manifestly implies that it is subjoined to the body of a composition of this nature. We cannot suppose that production as a whole to have disappeared, and the present one as a whole to have taken its place. There is then a pretty firm link of connection between the citation and the body of the Hymn generally. If indeed it were found only at one or two points to be in conflict with the Homeric method and testimony, we might venture to presume a corruption of the text. But if, as I shall endeavour to show, the mode of treatment is almost continuously at variance with the idea of Homeric authorship, such a plea will not avail, and the discredit of the body of the Hymn must have its influence adverse to the authenticity, that is to say, to the Homeric authorship, of the quotation. A quotation which, we may notice, does not contain a name, but merely the incident of blindness, a calamity which we cannot predicate with certainty of Homer even in his later life, and which also some other bard may have suffered. It should also be borne in mind that the passage in the Hymn does not directly decide the question that Homer was an Asiatic Greek. It only asserts that a blind Bard, evidently a favourite and distinguished one, and also evidently advanced in life, was a

dweller in Chios. If the tradition which fixes the return of the Heraclids at eighty years after the Troica be trustworthy, the passage may even speak of Homer and speak truly of him in old age, and yet the date of the great Poems may have been antecedent to the Return. But against this possibility there would still have to be set the difficulty of answering this question; how is it that a Poet acquainted with the Return, and witness of the vast revolution it brought about, should not, even without his consciousness, have left in twenty-seven thousand lines of poetry, sufficient indications of facts which were of such overwhelming moment to the whole tenour of Greek life, and of his own?

The great antiquity of this Hymn, saving the inquiry as to one or two manifest modernisms, I do not question. I find in it no reference to the existence of Delos afloat on the sea before it was rooted. This came in at a later time, but it is recorded in Pindar as quoted by Strabo[1]. And it is itself probably an ancient tradition, for it bears marks of having been copied from Egypt, where, hard by Buto, the city of Leto, there was pointed out to Herodotus the island called Chemmis as a floating island. It was covered with palms, and had a grand temple of Apollo[2]. Leto, be it remembered, was one of the eight Great Gods of Egypt.

[1] Book x. p. 485.

[2] Herodotus, ii. pp. 155, 156.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to try the case by an observation of particulars.

I.

Verses 2—4.

ὅντε θεοὶ κατὰ δῶμα Διὸς τρομέουσιν ἰόντα·
καὶ ῥά γ' ἀναΐσσουσιν, ἐπισχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο,
πάντες ἀφ' ἑδράων, ὅτε φαίδιμα τόξα τιταίνει.

The second verse of the Hymn represents the Olympian deities in general as trembling before Apollo when he passes through the palace of Zeus; and in the third verse they are said to rise, or start up, from their seats as he draws his bow.

There is a want of proportion and measure in these two images relatively to one another. If the gods tremble at his mere passing by, the drawing of his bow is scarcely required to cause them to rise for the purpose of showing respect. In this view, the major phenomenon follows the minor act. Rising is less than trembling. If on the other hand the act of rising is itself meant as an act of terror, we only heighten the exaggeration, which marks the passage as a whole.

But, in truth, neither image is accordant with the manner of Homer. Not even Zeus, unless in wrath, inspires the deities with fear; and not even to Herè or Poseidon, but to Zeus alone, do they pay the tribute of

rising from their seats when he enters (Il. i. 533–5). In his case the act is accounted for by his relation of paternity to the gods in general (*πάτηρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*).

In the rising at the drawing of the bow, we seem to see a copy by an inferior hand of the majestic Olympian scene in the First Iliad: the element of seemliness being missed by the Author of the Hymn.

If it be said that, in a Hymn addressed to Apollo, we may expect and excuse the absence of proportionate honour to other deities, who were not before the mind of the Bard, I reply that this argument is negatively good to account for the omission of their prerogatives: but cannot be good for such a displacement of the due degrees of rank and honour, and of the well-defined Homeric relation between senior and junior[1].

For the true Homer of the Iliad, the order of Olūmpos and its Court was at least as firmly established as that of any human society: and neither his harmonic nor his moral sense would have allowed him to represent Herè, Poseidon, and Athenè as doing homage to Apollo.

These remarks will apply generally to the words (134–5) *αἱ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι θάμβεον ἀθάναται.* Thambos indicates an amazement more or less approaching to stupefaction. Now Homer's anthropophuism does not indulge in this exaggerated colouring of divine emotion.

[1] See e.g. Od. vi. 329.

We find its climax, I think, in the awe of the Immortals, with a pause (Il. viii. 28, 29) after the menacing speech of Zeus:—

ὡς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἄκην ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ,
μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν.

II.

Verse 5.

Λητὼ δ' οἵη μίμνε πὰρὰ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ.

Leto alone remains sitting, by the side of Zeus, while the other deities have risen.

This representation as to the place of Leto is quite inconsistent with the dignity accorded to Herè in the Poems; who appears never to leave the seat next to Zeus, doubtless on his right hand. On the other side, as it would appear, usually sate Athenè, who in courtesy yielded her place to Thetis as a visitor (Il. xxiv. 100), on a very special occasion.

We again see here an incongruous imitation of the true Homer. The honours of Herè are, in a spirit of exaggeration, handed over to another: and yet the act of Leto in the Fifth Iliad (447), where she tends the stunned Aineias in the temple of Apollo, is copied. The dignity accorded to Leto, however, is noteworthy: and tends to mark the Hymn as a very ancient production.

III.

Verse 10.

τῷ δ' ἄρα νέκταρ ἔδωκε πατὴρ δέπαϊ χρυσείῳ.

Zeus, we are here told, handed the cup of nectar to Apollo. This is not in accordance with the Homeric order of the Olympian Court. For the words imply either that Apollo had the seat next to Zeus, so that the cup might pass to him, or that Zeus performed the function of cup-bearer. Neither alternative agrees with the Poems: in which the cup is handed by Hephaistos (Il. i. 584): or by Hebè (Il. iv. 2): and the seats next to Zeus are held by Herè and by Athenè (see *sup.*).

The author of these verses has rather minute information about Delos: while it is only once named in the Poems (Od. vi. 162). The palm is mentioned there as well as here: but the 'great mountain' and 'currents of Inopos' do not appear. They are wholly unsuitable to an island of five miles in circumference. There is no such want of harmony in the lines of the Odyssey. The genuineness of this passage is disputed among the German Editors: but the question is one beside my purpose.

IV.

Verses 14—18.

τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,

τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ,
κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθον,
ἀγχοτάτω φοίνικος, ἐπ' Ἰνωποῖο ῥεέθροις.

The birth of Apollo is here severed from that of Artemis. They are commonly represented as twins: not expressly so in the Poems, but the close relation of function between Artemis and Apollo (cf. Il. v. 447, xx. 39, xxiv. 605–7, Od. xv. 409), taken with the expression *φὴ δοίω τεκέειν* (Il. xxiv. 408), almost seems to require it. Mere brotherhood is a feeble bond, or no bond at all, in Olūmpos. So that the passage here may involve a contradiction of the Poems.

V.

Verses 22—24.

πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τοι ἄδον καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι
ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοί θ' ἅλαδε προρέοντες,
ἀκταί τ' εἰς ἅλα κεκλιμέναι λιμένες τε θαλάσσης.

Apollo is here represented as taking pleasure in all descriptions of natural scenes, including sea-beaches and creeks or straits of the sea. The last-named objects seem altogether inappropriate. But apart from this, the whole representation is un-Homeric: the true Apollo approximates to the high intellectual standard of Athenè, and is carefully kept aloof from physical and elemental associations. His functions are indeed many: but they nowhere touch landscape, or connect

him with particular scenes, or the pleasure (office there is none) here described.

VI.

Verse 29.

ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμενος.

This assignment of a local origin and starting-point to Apollo is scarcely in harmony with Homer; who would thus treat a Nymph or River-god, but whose idea of Apollo is wholly detached from place, except as the god is worshipped throughout his whole Hellenic world. He mentions the altar but not the birth, either as in Delos or elsewhere (Od. vi. 162).

VII.

Verses 29—44.

πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις,
ὅσσους Κρήτη τ' ἐντὸς ἔχει καὶ δῆμος Ἀθηνῶν,
νῆσός τ' Αἰγίνης ναυσικλειτή τ' Εὔβοια,
Αἰγαὶ Πειρεσίαι τε καὶ ἀμφιάλη Πεπάρηθος,
Θρηϊκιός τ' Ἀθόως καὶ Πηλίου ἄκρα κάρηνα,
Θρηϊκίη τε Σάμος Ἴδης τ' ὄρεα σκιόεντα,
Σκῦρος καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Ἀκροκάνης ὄρος αἰπύ,
Ἴμβρος τ' εὐκτιμένη καὶ Λῆμνος ἀμιχθαλόεσσα,
Λέσβος τ' ἠγαθέη, Μάκαρος ἕδος Αἰολίωνος,
καὶ Χίος, ἣ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται,
παιπαλόεις τε Μίμας καὶ Κωρύκου ἄκρα κάρηνα,
καὶ Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ Αἰγαγέης ὄρος αἰπὺ
καὶ Σάμος ὑδρηλὴ Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα,
Μίλητός τε Κόως τε, πόλις Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,
καὶ Κνίδος αἰπεινὴ καὶ Κάρπαθος ἠνεμόεσσα,
Νάξος τ' ἠδὲ Πάρος Ῥήναιά τε πετρήεσσα.

This lengthened passage is evidently the work of a later and much inferior hand: and goes far of itself to condemn the Hymn.

(1) There is in Homer no example of a Catalogue of this kind, so presented. He gives, indeed, in the Eighteenth Iliad (39–48) a series of thirty-three names of Nereid Nymphs: and in Od. viii. 111–19 we have the names of seventeen Phaiakian youths, who entered for the Games. In the latter case, the purpose of the enumeration is at once disclosed by the etymology of the names, eleven of which are compressed into three lines. In every case, except one (Laodamas), they are names connected with maritime pursuits, and they thus illustrate the character and Phœnician origin of the people. Elsewhere I have pointed out that the names of the Nereids are in a marked manner of Hellenic etymology, and appear to be intended to do honour to Achilles, in whose mother 'Thetis' the old and the new mythologies are made to meet. There, again, thirty-three names are compressed into ten verses. Only three of the names have epithets. The Poet shows his sense of the extreme vapidity of a long list of names largely diluted; and, having a distinct purpose in his enumerations, he accomplishes them succinctly, in the most workmanlike manner. Here he is in contrast with the writer of the Hymn, where thirty-one names

are spread over fifteen lines, with no consistent purpose or order, and with epithets or descriptive phrases dragging after them in twenty-four cases. This mass of *padding* is thoroughly un-Homeric.

I have not yet mentioned the case of the Greek Catalogue in Il. ii.; where enumeration is a necessity, for local indications were an essential element in the interest which the Bard had to excite. The most remarkable instance is that of the twenty-nine towns of the Boiotoi (Il. ii. 496–508), which take up thirteen lines: eleven only of these have epithet or description, and nowhere more than three of them in succession, whereas in the Hymn eleven consecutively are loaded in this manner. Again, the Homeric epithets are eminently characteristic, but this can hardly be said of giving Aiginè the name of *νῆσος*, or of calling Peparethos *ἀμφίαλος*, or Coos a city of articulating men, as if men elsewhere did not articulate.

(2) If we take next the geographical aspect of the case, I have pointed out the care with which Homer studies topical continuity in the sections of the two Catalogues. But the composer of the Hymn has no rule or arrangement. He takes Apollo from Delos to Crete, Crete to Athens, then to Aiginè on one side, then to Euboia on the other, then up as far as Thrace, back to Pelion, on again to Samothrace, then to the

continent of Asia Minor, then back across the Ægean to Skuros, and so forward in utter confusion.

(3) Another point in which this author shows himself not to be Homer, is in the absolute insignificance of continental Greece in his enumeration. Here, no doubt, we have a pretty clear indication of the birth-region of the Hymnist. Among the thirty-one names, Athens alone, together with Pelion and the doubtful appellation of Eiresiai, supposed to be a town of Thessaly, belongs to the Greek Peninsula; the rest, except the mention of Athos, are divided between the Archipelago and the continent of Asia Minor. The mental horizon is altogether different from that of Homer.

(4) So, too, we miss that powerful sentiment of nationality, which pervades the Poems. A point of the Thracian coast and the mention of Ida are introduced, while Greece itself is almost wholly overlooked. We cannot well have a clearer indication that the Hymn belongs to the period after the Dorian Conquest, when the Greek race had, through the migration, been locally diffused, but the spirit of Greek nationality much weakened. It marks also the severance and want of intercourse with the Greek Peninsula: for the Dorian conquerors, in whatever else they may have been deficient, were great worshippers of Apollo, and they must

have appeared here, if they had been familiarly known to the Poet.

(5) Again we may observe that Athens, which he selects for notice, had no special relation to Apollo; but very naturally appears in the work of an Asiatic Greek, or Greek of the migration, for which it was the supposed point of departure.

(6) Next it is very remarkable how little of this lengthened geographical description has any point of contact with Homer. Eleven or more of the thirty-one places, though generally such as the Greeks of the Migration would be likely to know, are not named in either the Iliad or the Odyssey, large as is their local vocabulary. These are:—

1 Eiresiai.	5 Akrocanè.	9 Naxos.
2 Peparethos.	6 Claros.	10 Paros.
3 Athos.	7 Aigagiè.	11 Rhenaia.
4 Phocaia.	8 Cnidos	

And, according to Matthiæ (Proleg. p. 20), 12. Samos.

Lesbos in Homer has no tradition of an Aiolian founder, nor does he use the form Aioliōn; indeed, the patronymic in ion is rare with him. The Chios of Homer is simply craggy (Od. iii. 170), but the poet of the Hymn, evidently at a later date, describes this as the wealthiest or most flourishing (liparōtatè) of islands.

Samos again, which has no epithet in Homer, is here hudrelè, well-watered, the word being foreign to the great Poems as well as the idea. Imbros, known to Homer only for its crags (Il. xiii. 33, and xxiv. 78), has become eüktimenè, well-built, or well-furnished. In v. 31 we have *ναυσικλείτη τ' Εὔβοια.* Homer does not apply to the Hellenic race generally epithets drawn from familiarity with maritime pursuits, but gives these to the Phaiakes, a race of Phœnician associations whom he calls *ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες* (Od. vii. 39), with other like epithets. He does instead give a very special description (Il. ii. 540–4) of the people of the island of Euboia; but it is wholly in connection with land warfare. Conversely, while the Lemnos of Homer is well-built or well-furnished[1], here the island is only inaccessible (amichthaloessa). The name Phocaia is of course in itself a proof that the Hymn is posterior to the migration eastwards (see Herod. i. 142). Strangest of all, though Homer has connected Apollo with the Lukian race (see inf. p. 111), the Lukian name is not found in this list at all. Generally, wherever there is a resemblance to the Homeric text, it is by a simple adoption of a word. The conception, indeed, of Apollo's

[1] In the Greek of Homer *ἐϋκτιμένη* is found thirty-three times, and invariably divided into five syllables. In this passage it is *εὐκτιμένη*, in four syllables.

worship as universal, is in thorough accordance with Homer: but this long and vapid enumeration is palpably insufficient, for it presents to us no exhaustive picture either of the world or of the Greek countries, but only an arbitrary list of spots, without either selection or arrangement. And, whereas the list begins with the declared aim of setting forth the lands in which Apollo was recognised as lord, at the end it assigns to the enumeration a totally different meaning, that of describing the places in which Leto vainly sought shelter for her confinement.

VIII.

Verse 46. *γαιέων.*

The form in Homer is *γαιάων.*

IX.

Verses 47, 51, 61.

αἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη κ.τ.λ. . . .
Δῆλ', εἰ γάρ κ' ἐθέλοις ἕδος ἔμμεναι υἷος ἐμοῖο . . .
ὣς φάτο· χαῖρε δὲ Δῆλος, ἀμειβομένη δὲ προσηύδα.

To ascribe to places and regions the emotions of man, to address them in the vocative, or to invest them with the faculty of speech, though we find it in Theocritos[1], is without example in Homer, and foreign to his conceptions; it partakes too much of

[1] xvii. 64. *Κώως δ' ὀλόλυξεν ἀπᾶσα κ. τ. λ.*

the elemental idea, and is opposed to his anthropophuism. Achilles, indeed, addresses the River Spercheios in the vocative, but this is in acknowledging him as a Deity, though one placed in the Under-world (Il. xxiii. 144). When even the Immortal horse of Achilles has spoken, the Erinūs interferes promptly, to restore the order of nature. The contrariety to the Homeric mode of thought becomes yet further aggravated in vv. 63, 4, where the Island states the case for and against, with regard to its own personal advantages or grievances.

X.

Verse 59.

δηρὸν ἄνακτ' εἰ βόσκοις· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ κέ σ' ἔχωσιν.

This line, excluded by Matthiæ, is admitted by Ilgen. Its want of cæsura marks it as not the work of Homer: still more does it condemn any composition to which it belongs by the phrase and idea implied in the boskein anakta, which is wholly at variance with Homer's mode of conceiving and representing such a deity as Apollo.

XI.

Verse 62.

Λητοῖ, κυδίστη θύγατερ μεγάλου Κοίοιο.

In this verse we find two notes of an origin not Homeric.

(1) The epithet Kudistè is in Homer confined to Athenè (Il. iv. 515, and Od. iii. 378).

(2) The paternity given to Koios is Hesiodic (Theog. 404) not Homeric. Leto has no relations traced upwards; and they would not be in keeping with the Homeric conception of her.

XII.

Verse 66.

λίην γάρ τινα φασὶν ἀτάσθαλον Ἀπόλλωνα
ἔσσεσθαι.

Atasthalie in Homer means an obstinate perverse depravity, and conveys an idea standing in violent contrast with Homer's conception of Apollo, to whom he at all times assigns an unvarying conformity with the will of Zeus.

XIII.

Verse 67.

μέγα δὲ πρυτανευσέμεν.

Ilgen himself observes '*Notio ab Homeri ætate, ut videtur, prorsus abhorrens.*' Matthiæ properly refers us to Æsch. Prom. v. 170, Ζεὺς . . . μακάρων πρύτανις, to Pind. Pyth. vi. 24, and to Simonides ap. Brunck. Anal. i. 145: and observes, '*Vox Homero ignota . . . Ductum esse verbum* ἀπὸ τῶν πρυτανέων, *a summo, in Asiaticis Græcæ originis urbibus, magistratu, nunc nota res est.*'

XIV.

Verses 78, 79.

ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε, θεὰ, μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμόσσαι,
ἐνθάδε μιν πρῶτον τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηὸν.

The oath of a mother, even before parturition, to bind her child, may not be inadmissible in poetry for the case of an earthly parent. But the Leto of Homer, though her position is venerable, stands far beneath his Apollo, and could not have been represented as taking such an oath. It is a clumsy, dislocated imitation of the oath obtained by Herè from Zeus before the birth of Heracles, in Il. xix. 106–13.

XV.

Verses 90, 91.

Λητὼ δ' ἐννῆμάρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας ἀελπτοις
ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο.

This is wholly at variance with the ideas of Homer, who reflects upon the divine life whatever is joyful and splendid in the human, but not the pains and infirmities of our nature.

XVI.

Verses 91—93.

θεαὶ δ' ἔσαν ἔνδοθι πᾶσαι,
ὅσσαι ἄρισται ἔασι, Διώνη τε Ῥείη τε
Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη.

The human conception of humanity in its weakness

is here carried on, and the assembly of goddesses at the hour of Leto's labour, is in all ways incongruous. First, Homer would not conceive of her as requiring their aid. Secondly, they find themselves unable to give any. Thirdly, they are assorted in a manner quite impossible for Homer. These are rather senior and matronly than principal goddesses, and the one really great goddess, Athenè, is (perhaps on that account) not mentioned. Further, there is in Homer no such class or body of goddesses as is here introduced. Only two of them, Dionè and Themis, belong to the Olūmpos of the Poet; that is, to his Olympian Court, in which alone we are to look for the greater deities. Rhea, twice mentioned in the Iliad (xiv. 203, and xv. 187), is associated with Kronos, who takes no part in divine government, and is confined to the Under-world. Amphitritè appears in the Odyssey only as an elemental power, scarcely if at all distinguishable from the water itself, has no separate attribute or action, no sign of life except in two doubtful epithets (see inf. p. 236). And, moreover, she is nowhere found except in the Outer or foreign geographic zone (Od. iii. 91; v. 422; xiv. 60, 97).

Again, the epithet Ἰχναίη, tracker of crime, or detective, does not belong to the Homeric idea of Themis as in Il. xx. 4, or Od. ii. 68.

For another reason we cannot suppose these verses to have proceeded from Homer; namely, that with him Demeter, though not a goddess of the first order, is a matron, and is more prominent than Dionè, and perhaps than Themis. She could not, therefore, have failed to be named at a meeting of chief goddesses in which they were included and named.

The Homeric Nereus remains always at the bottom of the sea, and it would be alien from his manner to represent Amphitritè (if she could act at all) thus in action upon earth. Still worse, to call Rhea, and her, tenants of the Olympian Palaces (v. 111). Fourthly, Homer could not have described these deities as the highest, considering what is the grand figure of his Athenè.

XVII.

Verses 96, 97.

μούνη δ' οὐκ ἐπέπυστο μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια·
ἧστο γὰρ ἄκρῳ 'Ολύμπῳ ὑπὸ χρυσέοισι νέφεσσιν.

We have no notice, in the true Homer, of Eilithuia as a member of the Olympian Court, or as a dweller upon the Mountain.

XVIII.

Verse 101.

Αἳ δ' Ἶριν προὔπεμψαν ἐϋκτιμένης ἀπὸ νήσου.

(1) Iris is always present in the Olympian Court.

(2) She is at the disposal of no deity except either Zeus or Herè, least of all could she be employed by personages like Amphitritè, when she would not even sit down to banquet with the Winds (Il. xxiii. 198-213). (3) Being in a special relation to Herè, she would not have been represented by Homer as made available in an intrigue against her (v. 104). (4) The idea of recompense to Iris for carrying a message is wholly foreign to the modes of the Homeric Theurgy. Probably the idea of this bribe is copied from the gift of Herè to Hūpnos [1], in Il. xiv. 238. But Hūpnos stands in no sort of special relation to Zeus personally.

Matthiæ considers that this employment of Iris establishes the great antiquity of the Poem, and that in later compositions Hermes was substituted as the messenger of the gods. Evidently he had in his mind the supposed distinction in this respect between the Iliad and the Odyssey. But (1) this distinction is not sustained by the facts, for both Hermes (Il. xxiv. 333) and Themis (Il. xx. 4) are employed as messengers in the Iliad. (2) Iris is never employed in the Iliad as messenger by the gods collectively, or by any body of them.

[1] I may notice in this place that I have placed the mark of a long syllable over the u in several Greek words, without reference to the quantity of the vowel in that language, and simply in order to prevent the use of the short English u (as in *hut*), for the sake of euphony.

XIX.

Verse 112.

τῇ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔπειθεν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι.

Eilithuia is simply an agent or secondary of Herè; see Il. xix. 119. To represent her therefore as taking part in the intrigue against her, is still more against the mind of Homer than a like treatment of Iris.

XX.

Verses 120—122.

ἔνθα σέ, ἦιε Φοῖβε, θεαὶ λόον ὕδατι καλῷ
ἁγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, σπάρξαν δ' ἐν φάρεϊ λευκῷ,
λεπτῷ, νηγατέῳ· περὶ δὲ χρύσεον στρόφον ἦκαν.

This detailed account of the swaddling of the infant Apollo, is neither in keeping with the grandeur of Homer's general method, nor with his high conception of that god.

XXI.

Verses 124, 125.

ἀλλὰ Θέμις νέκταρ τε καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινὴν
χείρεσσ' ἀθανάτῃσ' ἐπορέξατο.

In these lines there seems to be a mistaken imitation of Il. xv. 87. There Herè takes the cup from Themis simply through the accident of meeting her first, not in virtue of any special office; but something of that nature is here apparently assigned to her.

XXII.

Verses 133, 134.

ὣς εἰπὼν ἐβίβασκεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης, Ἑκατηβόλος.

Some question is raised upon the use of the preposition apo. Ilgen thinks it clearly means that Apollo rose from the ground into the air. But to this the verb ebibasken ('he strode' off the ground) is wholly unsuited. Matthiæ observes that it is not Homeric, and scarcely Greek. The passage in Il. v. 13, ἀπὸ χθόνος ὄρνυτο, is not in point: there is an antithesis in that passage; he (Dares) fought from the ground, while his sons fought ἀφ' ἱπποίιν, from the chariot. Again the verb ties the meaning of chthonos to the ground of Delos; but for this the epithet wide-wayed or spacious, is singularly inapplicable. Homer uses the epithet four times, but always for the ground in general, the floor of earth. But if the diction of this passage is such as we cannot conceive Homer to have used, so is the meaning. His materialism, in reference to the higher gods, is always delicately modified, and generalised. They may delight in nectar and ambrosia, as in the scent of sacrifices, but they are not excited by any of these. The Poet describes the repast of Hermes, clearly a lower deity in his mind than Apollo, with Calūpso,

and he does not apply there the formula with which he commonly describes physical satiety, but supplies another (Od. v. 95) :—

ἐπεὶ δείπνησε καὶ ἤραρε θυμὸν ἐδωδῇ.

It is his spirit that is refreshed with food. But in the Hymn Apollo is rather coarsely represented as immediately deriving from food physical power and energy, which he had not before. Homer's 'touch' is wholly wanting. This remark also applies to the load of gold which came upon Delos as it witnessed the birth. Indeed Matthiæ and Ruhnken condemn vv. 136–8 as spurious, but Ilgen upholds them.

XXIII.

Verses 141, 142.

ἄλλοτε μέν τ' ἐπὶ Κύνθου ἐβήσαο παιπαλόεντος,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἠλάσκαζες.

On this passage I observe—

1. The Kunthian epithet and relation are familiar in the later ages, and agree with a posthomeric authorship of the Hymn, but are unknown to the Homeric Apollo.

2. The word ἠλασκάζω seems to mean traversing or flitting over, but in Homer it is to shun or flee from.

3. Independently of this variance, the idea localises Apollo in a manner alien to the Apollo of the Poems,

who, capable of being adored in and so far associated with any place, is ever present, and addressed by his suppliants, in all.

XXIV.

Verses 144, 145. See sup. No. V.

XXV.

Verses 146, 147 seqq.

ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ,
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠερέθονται, κ.τ.λ.

1. This special addiction to a particular place is not in conformity with any Homeric conception in the Poems.

2. The place, which, according to Homer, would have the first claim on the god, would be his famous Delphian temple at Pūtho (Il. ix. 404, Od. xi. 581).

3. The expression which places delight in the divine ἦτορ materialises too much, if not for a deity, yet for one such as Apollo.

4. The assemblage of Ionians in his honour is perfectly in keeping with the time when, in a part of Asia Minor, these had become the representatives of the Hellenic name, but in Homer their part is altogether subordinate, and they have no special relation whatever to the god.

5. The epithet ἑλκεχίτωνες is in Homer a somewhat

disparaging epithet; and its introduction here looks like the proceeding of a mere copyist who introduces it in a laudatory Hymn.

XXVI.

Verse 162.

κρεμβαλιαστύν.

This use of castanets, or something of the sort, and indeed the whole idea of this song or song-dance of women without men, is foreign to Homer.

Having thus impeached in detail no less than twenty-six passages, found within only one hundred and thirty-nine lines, I will speak more generally of the closing passages of the Hymn. I observe especially in vv. 140-164 a curious feebleness of style, and on the other hand such a crowded appropriation of marked Homeric phrase as could not have been due to Homer, and as almost assumes the character of a *cento*. At the same time, I do not find in this portion of the Hymn that incessant and sharp shock of discrepancy which is felt in reading the earlier and larger portion. I rather lean to the opinion, which Ilgen (on verse 140) ascribes to Matthiæ while rejecting it, that we have here the work of a hand, not Homer's, but different from that of the preceding part of the Hymn; and the work of a hand which is adapted to the ordinary Delian anniversary.

One more word on the principal portion of the Hymn (vv. 1–163).

Independently of special criticisms, Matthiæ (Proleg. p. 20) has observed that the whole subject-matter of the wanderings of Leto and the birth of Apollo in Delos are foreign to the two great Poems, and that the reference to Delos in Od. vi. by no means attaches to it any special honour or tradition. When we consider how largely Apollo figures in the Iliad, and with how many characteristic epithets, it seems probable that we should have found some title or circumstance connecting him specially with Delos, if the Poet had been aware of this report of a local birth, which seems to me to be an incident beneath his conception of the god. Some local relation is implied in Il. v. 105 and xvi. 514, but it is to the Lukian people. Some may favour, as an hypothesis, the conception of local birth in the word λυκηγένης (Il. iv. 101, 119); but if it be so, this is an absolute contradiction to the Delian story, and of itself disproves the Homeric authorship of the Hymn[1].

[1] My friend Mr. J. A. Godley, observing the constantly recurring pause at the end of the line in the entire Hymn to Apollo, and its monotonous effect, counted the lines with and without pause throughout, and found only 132 lines without pause out of 545. But in two portions of Homer taken at random (Il. ix. 430–713 and Od. xii. 1–293) he found 200 out of 576: or 35 *per cent.* instead of 24 *per cent.*

Nor can I close the examination without reserving a title, belonging, I think, to every reader, to impugn the Homeric authorship of the Hymn upon grounds wider than those of any particular discrepancies. For there is surely not a single passage in it, except the passage relating to the blind bard of Chios, which the author of the Iliad and Odyssey could have composed without so broad a departure from his well-marked character of composition, and such an immense descent from his general level, as at once to bring about, or at least suggest repudiation.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

HOMER AND THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

THE next portion of my task is to investigate the relation of certain names, which appear upon the Egyptian records in connection with specified events, to those same names as they stand in the Homeric Poems; and the consequences which arise from the establishment of such relation. The heads of evidence may be arranged as follows:—

I. THE DARDANIAN LINK.

II. THE ACHAIAN LINK.

III. THE LINK OF EGYPTIAN THEBES.

IV. THE SIDONIAN LINK.

V. THE LEGEND OF MEMNON, AND THE KETEIANS OR KHITIANS OF THE ELEVENTH ODYSSEY.

VI. THE LEGEND OF THE PSEUDODYSSEUS; AND THE VOYAGE OF THE SHIP ARGO.

VII. Homer and Sesostris, or Rameses II.

VIII. Computations founded on the Foregoing Sections.

In approaching this department of the inquiry, we should, I think, as far as possible lay aside all Homeric and anti-Homeric prepossessions. For my own part, I now take the Poems simply as facts, and I ask nothing *in limine* from such as follow Bentley, or Wolf, or Lachmann, or Nitszch, or Grote, or Paley; though I may retain in the background my own belief that the results of all investigation truly historical will have their bearings, in various degrees and forms, on the respective theories of those learned men.

I.—The Dardanian Link.

The Dardanian name in the Iliad is the oldest of all those names, found in the Poems, which are linked by a distinct genealogy with the epoch of the action. I enter into no question concerning such names as Iaon[1] or Iapetos[2]. I pass by, for the present, the case of the Tekkera, whom some associate with Teucri. The Teucrian is nowhere connected in Homer with Troy, its rulers, or its people. But Virgil in using it rests without doubt on some sort of tradition, be its value great or small;

[1] Il. xiii. 685. [2] Il. viii. 479.

and Apollodoros tells us that Teucer, son of Scamander and of an Idaian Nymph, ruled the country, and gave his daughter to Dardanos[1] in marriage. Nor do I attempt to examine the case of the name Havanu, found in the Inscriptions of the Eleventh Egyptian Dynasty, on account of the great uncertainty still attaching to the Chronology of, and before, the time of the Shepherd Kings.

Hector, Paris, and Aineias are, according to the Iliad, in the seventh generation from Dardanos[2]. They each individually may be taken as men of mature age. Dardanos at a corresponding age may thus be taken roughly to belong to a point in time about 180 years before the War of Troy.

He founded the city of Dardania, situated upon the lowest slopes of Ida. And he was the son of Zeus; that is, in legendary language, as I apprehend, there being no mother or incident of the legendary phrase, he was the first recorded king and first recognised settler of the country. The Poem expressly states that he gave his name to the city. He also gave his name to the inhabitants; who in the seventh generation are still called Dardanioi. And this adjective is used in the feminine plural with respect to the Dardanian

[1] Apollod. iii. 12, 1.

[2] Il. xx. 215–40.

Gates[1]; those gates which faced the hills and probably the South, while the Skaian Gate was on the Western side of the city, towards the Scamander, and faced South-west. As the name extended also to the people, everything seems to show that this Eponumos, or Name-founder, left a deep mark. The Dardanians appear in the Catalogue[2] as a separate contingent, under their own name, while the other dwellers on the roots of Ida are classed as Trōos[3]. Under the supremacy of Troy and of Priam, Anchises, their king, seems to have been a sub-sovereign ; and the famous prophecy of Poseidon, in Il. xx. 307, imports not the rebuilding of Ilios, but the continuance of the Dardanian Dynasty, and the resumption of their authority over Troas. This is stated in so many words; Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει. And it is generally admitted and alleged that Homer must himself have witnessed the fulfilment of the prophecy.

The word Dardanides stands for Dardanian women, expressly distinct from the Trojan women[4]. So does Dardaniones[5] for the men. Though the Trojan name covers the whole force in the general descriptions, the Dardans or Dardanians are always separate in the vocative addresses of the Chieftains, which are directed

[1] Il. ii. 819; Il. v. 789; xx. 694 and 413. [2] Il. ii. 819.
[3] Il. ii. 824-6. [4] Il. xviii. 122, 334. [5] Il. vii. 414; viii. 154.

either to 'Trojans, Dardans, and allies[1],' or to 'Trojans, Lukians, and Dardans fighting hand to hand[2].' We have also two cases of Dardan warriors mentioned as such in the singular. Again, though it is rare in Homer to give a patronymic from a remote ancestor, yet Priam, and he only of contemporary personages, is many times called Dardanides[3]. And, lastly we learn, from the mouth of Poseidon, that Dardanos was more loved by Zeus than any other of his mortal children[4].

It appears probable, from the genealogical narration, that there were inhabitants in Troas before Dardanos. The Poet does not say the country was desert, but that Dardanos founded Dardanië when or because there was no *city* constituted in the plain, i.e. no combined and inclosed settlement, having a regular character and a government:—

ἐπὶ οὔπω Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων[5].

Nor can there, I think, be reason to doubt, considering the tenacious vitality, as we have seen it, of the name, that under Dardanos, and after his date, the whole of the inhabitants of the Troad, which Homer usually calls by the name of Troië, were known as Dardanians. Perhaps a conjecture might be hazarded

[1] Il. iii. 456, *et al.* [2] Il. viii. 173, *et al.*; Il. ii. 701; xvi. 207.
[3] Il. iii. 303, and in six other places. [4] Il. xx. 304. [5] Il. xx. 216.

that the name politically revived after the destruction of Troy, and subsisted at least until the site had been reoccupied from Thrace or elsewhere: but this is little material, as Egyptology appears to afford no evidence which can be brought down so low in point of date.

The succession of the family was as follows:—

1. Dardanos.
2. Erichthonios.
3. Tros; who is called Τρώεσσιν ἄναξ.
4. Ilos, Assarakos, and Ganumedes.
5. Laomedon, son of Ilos: Kapus, son of Assarakos.
6. Priam and others, sons of Laomedon.
   Anchises, son of Kapus.
7. Hector, son of Priam. Aineias, son of Anchises.
8. Astuanax, son of Hector. (Children of Aineias[1].)

With his usual care or instinct for historic details of real weight, the Poet has here marked for us the period when the Trojan name emerged; namely, under Tros. The building of the City in the plain was without doubt due to his son Ilos. But the name derived from him to the capital did not displace the name Trōes, which, doubtless with that of Troiè for the country, either had already become, or was becoming, the proper designation of the inhabitants. And we

[1] Il. xx. 215–40.

may perhaps consider that the existence of his tomb as a landmark on the plain, the σῆμα Ἴλου[1], contributes another piece of testimony to the great importance of this sovereign in the annals of the country.

Thus then it appears that the inhabitants of the north-west angle of Asia Minor, between Ida and the sea, were, for not less than two generations, that is to say, for a period of sixty years, more or less, known as Dardanians; and were afterwards known as Trojans.

Turning now to the Egyptian records, we find that, as they have now been interpreted by French inquirers, they place the commencement of the Nineteenth Dynasty about 1462 B.C.; and the accession of Rameses the Second, the Sesostris of the Greeks (Sestesou-Ra or Sesou-Ra in certain of his Egyptian names), somewhere near the year 1410 B.C. In the fourth year of his reign, or about 1406 B.C., the formidable people called Khita, of the Valley of the Orontes, the same in race with the Hittites of the Old Testament, organised a powerful confederacy against him, encouraged by the troubles which he had to meet, on his accession to the throne, from the southward. This combination, besides the Asiatic nations of Armenia and the Assyrian plain, embraced the peoples of Asia Minor: of whom are enumerated (as the names are

[1] Il. x. 415; xi. 166, 372.

read by some) the Mysians, the Lycians, the Pisidians, and the Dardanians. As Lauth reads them, we have the 'lord of Luka' (Lukioi) and the lord of Dardani (Dardanoi) named in the War-inscription. There is also Chirabu, which may be Chalubes (Il. ii. 857); and on another papyrus Pidasu (in the Pentaur Patasu), probably Pedasos[1]. The Pentaur also gives Maausu = Musoi. It is not necessary to pursue the history of the prolonged struggle, which ended some fifteen years afterwards in an accommodation recognising the independence of the Khita, and appearing to deal with them on terms of equality and reciprocity. But we have now a clear datum in time for Dardania, subject only to whatever questions may be raised on the chronology of the middle Egyptian dynasties. The year 1406[2], approximately fixed, would seem to have been within the sixty years or thereabouts, when the inhabitants of Troas were known by the name of Dardanians. That is to say, the settlement of Dardania was probably founded between 1466 and 1406 B.C. And the overthrow of Troy, on the same basis of computation, would probably fall between 1286 and 1226 B.C.

[1] Lauth, Hom. und Ægypten, p. 31.

[2] F. Lenormant, Hist. Anc. de l'Orient, Book iii. ch. iii. sect. v. Chabas, Études sur l'Antiquité Historique, ch. iv. p. 185. De Rougé, Mémoire sur les attaques dirigées contre l'Égypte, p. 4.

If, however, we are to read the Inscription as meaning that these Dardanians were Dardanians of Ilios, as appears to be held by a writer of authority[1], a new and rather important element is introduced, and we at once reach the time of King Ilos. We must then suppose that the rivalry of the Dardan and Trojan names for territorial supremacy had lasted for one generation longer; and the combination against Rameses II thus operates with a corresponding difference on the date of the foundation of Dardania. For as Ilios was not founded until some ninety years, more or less, after Dardanos, it follows that if the name of that city was known in 1406 B.C., the epoch of Dardanos is thrown back to 1496 B.C. at the latest; and farther, according to the number of years for which we suppose Ilios to have been founded before 1406 B.C. Thus the epoch of the Troica is thrown back at least to about 1316 B.C. As the Dardanian name must, when Ilios was once founded, have been an expiring one, we need not make any considerable addition to this high number of years.

According, then, to this piece of evidence, the overthrow of Troy might have been as late as 1226 B.C., or as early as about 1316 B.C.

[1] See Mons. F. Lenormant, *Academy*, No. 98, p. 315: March 21, 1874.

II.—The Achaian link.

Early in the present century, Damm observed, in his 'Lexicon Homericum,' that the Achaian name, while it was a name of the Greeks in general, had a special sense also, denoting the *nobiles et principes Græcorum*[1]. Thucydides[2], in his Prefatory Chapters, refers to the three great Homeric Appellatives—the Danaan, Argeian, and Achaian; and perhaps he intends, by the order in which he thus places them, to indicate the order of time in which their several origins ought to stand.

Endeavouring to ascertain the scope and significance of this name from the text of the Poems, I found abundant evidence to sustain the opinion of Damm that the Achaian name frequently leans towards designating the chiefs in particular, and likewise the opinion, which Thucydides may have meant to indicate, that it is the youngest of the three designations. But I was also led on to two further propositions, which appear to me hardly deniable:—

1. That the Achaian name was the proper national name, for that epoch, of the people who captured Troy, and who were afterwards called by the Romans, and by the moderns, Greeks; but by themselves Hellenes.

[1] Damm in voc. Ἀχαιοί. [2] Thuc. i. 3.

2. That the date, at which this name thus became the proper designation of the nation, is approximately shown by the Poems.

For the first of these propositions, I would appeal, not without confidence, to the simple and homely test of commonness of use. The Achaian name is used more than three times as often as the Argeian name, more than four times as often as the Danaan, almost exactly twice as often as both put together. In an age when prose and poetry exist as distinct kinds of composition, it would be unsafe to draw an inference from the predominant use in a poem of a name which might be peculiarly a poetical name; but it appears to me that[1] at a period when Poem and Chronicle were one, or rather perhaps when there was no Chronicle but Poem, such a prevalence of use, as I have shown, of itself establishes the proposition. And it is confirmed by that leaning of the phrase to the ruling class—the kings, chiefs, and nobles—which might if needful be shown from a score and more of passages. Three of these, lying within a very short compass indeed, may be found, by way of example, in Il. ix. 370, 391, 395.

Nor is it difficult to allow that, as the name does not point to a particular individual, or a particular mode

[1] This question is copiously, and I think in the main soundly, argued in Studies on Homer, vol. i. pp. 402, *seq.*; also Juventus Mundi, pp. 60, *seq.*

of life or other speciality, political predominance was probably the cause which gave it this general currency. But then arises the question—Can we show, from the Poems, that there had been a time when the Greeks had not yet come to be called Achaians?

Now this can be shown, both by negative and by positive evidence, from the text of the Poems; and it is necessary that this should be done at the outset, in order to establish a connexion with any given point of Egyptian chronology. For if the Achaian name had prevailed in the Greek Peninsula from an immemorial antiquity, the fact of its being used in the Egyptian records would furnish no bond of chronological relation with the War of Troy[1]. It is needful to establish the limit on both sides.

First, then, the Achaians, although standing for the nation generally, were also still, at the time of the War, a special race in Greece. They are distinguished, among the inhabitants of Crete, from the Dorians, and from the Pelasgians. In the Catalogue, the Achaian name is especially given (1) to the inhabitants of Aigina and of Mases; (2) to the contingent of Achilles[2]. Again, in the Eleventh Book, Nestor relates a local war which took place in his youth, and in it he once calls the Pulians Achaians, but the men of Elis always Eleians

[1] Od. xix. 175-7.

[2] Il. ii. 562; 684.

and Epeians[1]. True, it is only once: but we have to remember that the narrative is given in the first person, and he has used the name of Pulians no more than four times in the whole of it. The use of the word Panachaioi in like manner proves that originally the Achaians were but a part of the whole which it had come to embrace, and that the local and special sense was not yet entirely absorbed.

Now, none of the above-named indications carry the Achaian name back beyond fifty or sixty years. The Legend of Nestor cannot date more than half a century back. The family of Achilles, whose subjects are connected with the special references in the Catalogue to the Achaian name, goes back only for two generations to Aiakos, his grandfather. When, in the Nineteenth Iliad, Herè is introduced, speaking of the time just before the birth of Eurustheus, she calls the inhabitants over whom he was to rule not Achaians, but Argeians[2]. This may be considered as about eighty years before the War. The legend of Bellerophon would give to Proitos a date slightly more remote. And it is said that Proitos had the power to banish Bellerophon, because he was paramount among the Argeians[3]. When, however, we come down to the time of Tudeus, whose dominion was in Argolis and part of the country

[1] Il. xi. 759. [2] Il. xix. 122. [3] Il. vi. 152.

over which Proitos had reigned, then we find the force which Tudeus led against Thebes described (Iliad iv. 384, and v. 803) as Achaian, and thus distinguished from the inhabitants of Thebes, who are in both narratives called Kadmeioi and Kadmeiones.

I submit, therefore, that, according to the testimony, afforded by the text of Homer with a perfect self-consistency, the Achaian name had come to be the prevailing or national designation of the Greeks at the period of the War, but that it could not properly have been used to designate the inhabitants of Greece at any period more than fifty or sixty years before the War. Indeed the evidence might almost suggest the belief that it had still more recently come into vogue as the national name, and perhaps that it was the War itself that fully established and confirmed it in that sense.

But now arises another question, which the Poems cannot answer for us; how long after their date did the Achaian name continue to hold the same position? The blankness and vagueness of Greek tradition in general, between the time of the Poet and the historic epoch, preclude any exact reply. But we know enough to warrant the assertion that Greece was greatly disorganised by the incidents of its victorious war with Troy; that the Pelopid dynasty was wounded in the person and family of its head; that a great Dorian

invasion, within no long period after the War, altered the face of the country, and limited the range of the Achaian name to a narrow and local strip of coast. And it may also be said that the Achaian name, as a national name, has no place in the literature of Greece subsequent to Homer. It is used once only by Hesiod[1], and that in a retrospective passage which refers to the Troic expedition assembled at Aulis. The Hellenic name in fact takes the place of the Achaian. It revives, indeed, with the tragedians to some extent, but of course only as contemporary with certain persons and events of their dramas, where they may be supposed to speak of Achaians, as we speak of Britons, as the inhabitants, and of Albion as the name, of our country.

If then I have succeeded in fixing, with reasonable though not absolute certainty, the rise of the Achaian name as an event which happened within half a century, more or less, before the War of Troy, it may upon grounds more general, but perhaps not less trustworthy, be alleged that its decline rapidly followed upon the War: that it could not have been known as the national name of the Greeks after the Dorian invasion, which is affirmed by Thucydides[2], and is generally taken

[1] Hesiod, ἔργα, 269.

[2] Thucyd. i. 12. Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, i. 106, *seqq.*

to have occurred at a period of 80 years after the fall of Troy; and that it is quite possible that, even before that event, it may have been superseded by the name of Hellenes, which was evidently rising above the horizon, so to speak, and beginning to come into use at the epoch of the Poems, and which appears to have obtained such currency before the great Revolution effected by the Heraclids, that the Dorian appellation itself never supplanted or made head against it as the national name.

In other words, the Achaian name appears to have had a currency which cannot have exceeded 140 years, and which very possibly fell below 100 years; in no case reaching below the period when it was driven into an insignificant corner of the Peloponnesos, or at any rate entirely lost its national character.

It must be added that, as far as the evidence goes, it came suddenly or rapidly to its supremacy. We cannot find that it rested as a local name like the Graian or the Dorian names, in particular places, for a length of time before it grew in the one case to be national, in the other to prevail over a large number of the various states of Greece. All the uses of it by Homer for periods anterior to the War are almost certainly local, because Achaians are distinguished from Cadmeians, and again from Epeians. The probable

supposition is that the great national effort of the War itself lifted it into its clearest and fullest predominance; and that we ought to place the commencement of its reign somewhat near that epoch, but its first emerging into more than local note at a time earlier by nearly two generations.

If now we turn to the records opened by Egyptology[1], we find that at some point of time within the limits of the term described, soldiers of a nation bearing the Achaian name, and coming from the northward, were placed in sharp collision with that Empire, by taking part in an invasion of the country.

Under Thothmes III, whose reign is computed to have extended over the first half of the 16th century B.C. (or 1600–1550), the power of the great Egyptian Empire reached its climax. He first established a maritime supremacy northwards, by means of a fleet in the Mediterranean. In all likelihood this is the change which had come down by report (*ἀκοῇ*) to Thucydides[2] as the act of Minos. But even that report, vague as it was, embodied this essential element, that he constituted also a dominion on land by placing his own sons as governors in the places he conquered, which, if we construe with the Scholiast, embraced

[1] F. Lenormant, Hist. Ancienne de l'Orient, Book iii. chap. iii. sec. 2.
[2] Thucydides, i. 4.

most of the population of Greece. These sons were without doubt so-called as being the officers and representatives of the Empire thus established. In my opinion they were probably those, in whole or in part, of whom we hear in the Poems as the Aiolidai or descendants of Aiolos: for Aiolos is a characteristic, and probably a typical, name closely connected with the East, and with those through whom the East became known to Greece, that is to say, with the actual agents, almost certainly Phœnician, by whose locomotive energy this maritime supremacy was made effective. It should be observed that the Minos of Homer stands at two generations and a half before the war: and the events, be they what they may, which we are to suppose as underlying the statement respecting the establishment of his sons, would precede, but only by a little, the predominance of the Achaian name. From an inscription at Karnak, where Ammon, the supreme God of Thebes, is supposed to speak, I quote a few words:—

'I came, I suffered thee to smite the inhabitants of the isles; those who dwell in the midst of the sea are reached by thy roaring . . . The isles of Greece are in thy power[1]. I permitted thee to smite the farthest bounds of the sea.'

[1] 'Au pouvrir de tes esprits.' I translate the French of M. de Rougé. See Lenormant, i. 386.

The inscription then records that the Southern Isles of the Archipelago were subdued, together with a great extent of the Coasts of Greece.

So, then, we learn that the inhabitants of the Greek Peninsula and Isles had once been subject to this great Empire at the zenith of its power, under the Eighteenth Dynasty. We need, therefore, feel no surprise if in the days of its decline we find them, or some of them, like the Hittites, the Libyans, and others, endeavouring to avenge or compensate themselves for the past, or to seek wealth for the present or security for the future, by assailing the coasts of Egypt.

Under the Nineteenth Dynasty, while the aggressive energy of the Egyptian Empire had on the whole been paralyzed, its maritime supremacy had passed away. We hear of Seti, the father of Rameses II, that he reconstituted the Egyptian fleet of the Red Sea, but there is no similar statement as to the northern waters[1]. Rameses II, as we have seen, had had to encounter a formidable combination in the northern and north-western quarters of Asia. Under his son, Merepthah, a new danger arose from a new quarter. Libya appears now to have been possessed, at least in part, by an Aryan or Japhetic population. This people, whatever its ethnical classification, entered with others into a

[1] Lenormant, Manuel d'Hist., vol. i. p. 402.

new and powerful coalition against Merepthah. I take the account of the inscription as it is to be found in the works of Viscomte de Rougé, Mons. F. Lenormant, and M. Chabas[1]; and though I speak in ignorance of the art of Egyptian interpretation, I understand through Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, and from the agreement of these authors, that there is no apparent difference among the authorities as to the reading of the monumental inscription at Karnak in the more important particulars.

Some four years ago, Professor Rawlinson in the *Contemporary Review*[2] stated his objections to parts of the interpretation of this Inscription, and declined to accept its authority as a whole. He observed justly, that Achaians and Laconians had no intercourse, even in the time of Homer, with Sikels and Sardinians, and knew nothing of any foreign ships in Greek waters, except those of the Phœnicians. It is not necessary for my purpose to determine anything with respect to the races farther west than the Greek Peninsula, as to their local seats at the time, or otherwise. There is

[1] F. Lenormant in *The Academy* of March 28, 1874. Also his Manual de l'Histoire, vol. i. p. 429; and Premières Civilizations, vol. i. p. 429; De Rougé, Extraits d'un memoire sur les attaques dirigées contre l'Egypte par les peuples de la Mediterranée vers le xiv^me^ Siècle avant notre éra, p. 6 *seqq.* P. Smith, Anc. Hist. of the East, p. 105. Chabas, Études sur Antiquité Historique, pp. 187–98.

[2] *Contemporary Review*, April, 1870.

no improbability or difficulty in the main tenour of the inscription, which shows that the invasion was principally continental; or in that portion of it, which points out Achaians, and perhaps other Greeks, as forming an auxiliary force.

We are told, then, that in the reign of Merepthah, together with the Lebu or Libyans, were in arms the Shardana or Sardones (whether yet planted in Sardinia or not is little material) and some other tribes called Mashuash (the Maxyes[1]), and Kahuka. There were also the Achaiusha or Achaians, and with them were the Leku or Laconians (or, less probably, Peloponnesian Lukians or Lycians). There were likewise the Turska, who are interpreted to be Tyrrhenians; and the Shekulsha or Siculi. According to M. de Rougé's reading[2], the Tyrrhenians took the initiative; and brought moreover their families, with an evident view to settlement in the country. But this is contested by M. Chabas[3], apparently with reason. At any rate it appears incontestable, from the comparative smallness of their losses in action, that this people were in small numbers. The invasion was by the North-Western frontier. It produced the utmost alarm in Egypt. According to the monuments, the sufferings inflicted were such as had

[1] Herodotus, iv. 191.

[2] De Rougé, p. 209.

[3] Chabas, Etudes sur l'Antiquité Historique, pp. 198–200.

not been known since the evil times of the Shepherd Kings: 'The days and the months pass, and they abide on the ground.' They went beyond Memphis, and reached the town of Paari, or Paarisheps, in middle Egypt. Here they were defeated in a great and decisive battle, which lasted for six hours. Nearly fifteen thousand were slain, of the Libyans, Maxyes, and Kahuka; about 1000 Tyrrhenians and Sikels: the losses of the Sardones, and of the Achaians and Laconians, are not known, as that portion of the record is destroyed. The hands of the Achaian dead and those of the other non-African tribes, and another portion of the bodies of the Libyans and Maxyes, were brought back, either as trophies, or by way of account[1]. There were 9376 prisoners. While the remainder of the invading army fled the country, the Libyans treated for peace. But a portion of those who had in a manner planted themselves in the Delta, principally Mashuash or Maxyes, were confirmed in the possession of their lands, and became Egyptian subjects.

This invasion took place near the commencement of the reign of Merepthah[2]. His accession is placed by the French authorities at about A.D. 1350, and we

[1] De Rougé, p. 6.

[2] M. de Rougé also states, that according to the Inscription these Achaians did not include the Inhabitants of the Isles; and he thinks they were confined to the Peloponnesos.—De Rougé, Extraits, &c., p. 28.

may perhaps roughly assume 1345 B.C. as the date. Therefore the year 1345 B.C. may be taken as falling within the term which, as we have seen, may reasonably be stated at about or possibly under 100 years, of the historic life of the Achaian name as the virtual equivalent for the Greek nation.

That term, then, can hardly have begun earlier than 1345 B.C., and cannot, according to the criterion now applied, have ended later than 1245 B.C.

But if the period of (say) 100 years subdivides itself, as may be the case, into what may be taken as two moieties; the first when it was still in some degree a gentile or local name, the second when it was national; to which of these significations does the use of the name under Merepthah probably belong? I answer, in all likelihood, to the earlier; because the Greeks who take part in it are described as Achaians and Laconians. If, instead of Laconians, we were to read Lukians, viz., those connected with the Lucaonian tradition of the Peloponnesos, it would not affect the argument, which is that the Achaian name does not cover the whole Peninsula, or even the whole Peloponnesos: the Laconians, according to the Karnak monument, being Peloponnesians, were not at the time fully included in the designation of Achaians. Still this appears to be the leading name of the expedition,

as well as the more certain of the two, so far as Greece is concerned.

Returning to the figures under this narrower specification, the Invasion we speak of was probably at a date within some fifty or sixty years before the War of Troy. If so, we should have 1345 B.C. for the higher limit of the war (which could not have coincided with the invasion), and 1285 B.C. for the latest.

Carried thus far, the statement and argument may rest on their own ground. But it is a notable fact, that the Egyptian records, which supply evidence of the prevalence of the Achaian name under Merepthah, at a later date also supply evidence, as does the Greek literature, that it had ceased to prevail. To that evidence we will now proceed.

Rameses III belongs to the Twentieth Dynasty; and he is reckoned as the last among those sovereigns of the ancient Egyptian monarchy who were distinguished by personal greatness. His function was, like that of several preceding monarchs, not to enlarge but to defend the Empire. His accession is fixed, through a date astronomically calculated by M. Biot, to the year 1311 B.C., and from this time onwards we are assured that the Egyptian chronology attains almost to an absolute trustworthiness[1].

[1] F. Lenormant, Premières Civilizations, vol. i. pp. 221–3. Hist. Ancienne, vol. i. pp. 443, 444.

In his fifth year, or 1306 B.C., the White (or Aryan) Libyans again invaded Egypt. A simultaneous but independent attack was made from the North and East. The Maxyes of the Delta revolted[1]. From beyond the continent the leading nations of the enemy were 'the Pelesta of the Mid Sea,' interpreted as meaning the Pelasgians of Crete, and the Tekkri, or the Teucrians; who, again, are assumed to have succeeded the Trojans in Troas. These Pelesta[2] M. Lenormant understands to be the ancestors of the Philistines, a question beside my purpose. They entered Syria by land. Their ships, with those of the Tekkra and Shekulsha, assailed the coast, while the Daanau, the Tursha, and the Uashasha, supplied land forces only. Rameses III, having defeated the land invasion, also mastered his naval enemies by means of a Phœnician fleet.

It seems difficult to dispute that these Pelesta 'of the mid sea' were probably Cretan; or that the Daanau represent the same people who in the war of Merepthah appear as Achaians. The point material to the present inquiry is that, if the Daanau are Greeks of the mainland, that is to say, Danaoi, or Danaans, the Achaian name had now, forty years after the War of Merep-

[1] Chabas, p. 227.

[2] F. Lenormant, in *The Academy* of March 22, 1874.

thah, so far lost its currency that it no longer adequately represented the nation to the foreign ear.

We may, however, stay for a moment to enquire whether these Daanau were really Greeks of the mainland. There is, I admit, an objection to the supposition on more than one ground. First, I have argued, in conformity with Greek tradition, and with what seems to me the clear indication of the Homeric text, that the Danaan name, as a national name, was certainly older, not younger, than the Achaian[1]. Secondly, the Achaian and the later Greeks were alike, and increasingly with time, a maritime people. Again the account (from the Harris *papyrus* of the British Museum) represents the Tekkra and Pelesta as supplying the aggressive fleet; but both Trojans and Pelasgians are in Homer wholly without any sign of maritime habits; a remarkable fact in the case of the Trojans, because they inhabited a country with a long line of sea-coast. But when we consider that the Egyptians carried on the maritime war through the Phœnicians, it seems that we can hardly rely upon as much accuracy of detail as in the records of a land warfare conducted by themselves. On the other hand, if the Achaian name had gone out of use, and no other was yet fully established, the Danaan name was a most natural one

[1] Studies on Homer, vol. i. and Juventus Mundi, pp. 42-4.

for Phœnicians to give to Greeks. For, as I have endeavoured to show[1], there is every reason to believe that the Danaan immigration into Greece came from Phœnicia, or from Egypt through Phœnicia; and it was also an immigration into Peloponnesos. Or again, if, as has long been popularly assumed, it was from Egypt, the ascription of the name to the nation by the Egyptians is natural, even if it had gone out of use in the Peloponnesos itself.

The Achaians, then, of Merepthah's reign probably are the Danaans of the reign of Rameses III. But the Achaian power predominated in the Peloponnesos till the return of the Heraclids. Reasoning from this fact alone, we might be inclined to argue that the Danaan name was not likely to have been employed until about eighty years after the fall of Troy; and if so, that event must have occurred as far back as 1386 B.C. But the disorganization of the Peloponnesos caused by the Trojan War may, though we cannot say must, have caused the title of Achaians to descend from its zenith as rapidly as it had risen. If on this account the Achaian name had lost its lustre, and if the Danaan designation had also been, as is probable that by which the Greeks were known in Phœnicia and Egypt before the Achaian period, there seems to

[1] Juventus Mundi, p. 137.

be no reason why even so soon as at ten or twenty years after the war the Danaan title might not again become, for those countries, and for the Egyptian ear, the most proper descriptive title. What appears quite inadmissible is the idea that the period of Achaianism, so to call it, could have come after the time of Rameses III, when the Greeks were called Danaans; for in that case there would have been not one but two Achaian periods before the Olympiads. On the whole, the presumptions from this part of the Egyptian evidence would place the capture of Troy some time before 1306 B.C.

It is, however, possible that the Danaan name, which had its birth from within the Egyptian Empire, might be used in Egypt to describe the Greeks even at the time when they called themselves Achaioi. Too much must not, therefore, be built upon this separate head of the evidence.

III.—The Theban link.

Even without reference to Egyptian discovery, the references in the Homeric poems to Egyptian Thebes are remarkable. They seemed, however, rather to be brought into question than illustrated by the fact that we also heard of a Thebè in Boiotia, connected with

the Cadmeian family and with Phœnicia, and of a Thebè of King Eëtion, the city of those Kilikes who dwelt near Troas. We are not in a condition duly to connect the three, until we come to know something of the great Egyptian Empire, and of its close relations with the Phoinikes[1], as their maritime representatives and agents, which must have gone far to identify in contemporary Greek reports what was Egyptian and what was Phœnician.

But these passages have acquired a new importance in relation to my present design, from our having learned that the fame and greatness of Egyptian Thebes belong to a particular, though a lengthened, period of the history of the country[2]. The old monarchy, before the great invasion of the Shepherd kings, had Memphis for its seat. Thebes is known to have existed under the later dynasties, and also under the Shepherds. But it became the capital of the country only after the expulsion of those invaders by Ahmes, the first sovereign of the Eighteenth dynasty. At this date the principal monuments of the city begin[3]. This is indeed the Theban monarchy, a phrase synchronous with the full bloom and splendour of Egypt. It

[1] See also the conjectures explained in Smith's Anc. Hist. of the East, p. 81.

[2] Smith's Anc. Hist. of the East, chap. iv.

[3] Ibid., p. 63.

lasts through this Dynasty of Triumph, and through the Nineteenth Dynasty of Struggle. In the Twentieth, the Dynasty of Decline, the supremacy passes away from Thebes[1], which is etymologically the city of the head, or capital[2]. According to Mr. P. Smith's chronology, this supremacy of Thebes embraces the period (approximately) between B.C. 1530 and B.C. 1100. He adopts in substance the computations of Mr. Poole, and I believe of Sir G. Wilkinson. Mr. Poole thinks the Eighteenth Dynasty began not later than 1525 B.C., and the Nineteenth not later than 1322. The computations followed by Lenormant carry us nearly a century further back, for the commencement of the period, but with no great difference towards the close; and it is on his later dates that my figures have been based. But the substantial proposition which I submit is this: that the references in the Poems to Egyptian Thebes prove that they belong to the period when that city was supreme in Egypt, and was in effect the first city of the known world. The first of them is in Il. ix., where Achilles declares that no amount of gift or treasure, which Agamemnon can offer or obtain for him, will induce him to compliance: 'Not if he gave ten times, twenty times what he offers;

[1] F. Lenormant, Premières Civilisations, vol. i. p. 224.

[2] Ibid., p. 23.

not if all he has, or all he might have.' Then he proceeds :—

> *οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς 'Ορχομενὸν προτινίσσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας*
> *Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,*
> *αἵθ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστην*
> *ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν*[1].

The whole passage, as to the gifts of Agamemnon, is in the nature of a climax; passing from the actual offers to the entire property of the King, the speaker illustrates this transition by referring to Orchemenos, then a wealthy city of the Boiotoi, and from hence, to crown his argument, he moves onwards and upwards to Thebes of Egypt, as the city which contained the greatest treasures in the world. This is wholly inapplicable and unintelligible, except with regard to the period of the actual supremacy of that Egyptian capital.

Next, the Egyptian Thebes is Thebes of the hundred gates. This is not a statistical epithet, more than are those which describe Crete as the land of an hundred[2], or of ninety[3], cities. Nor does the word Hecatombè in Homer literally signify an hundred oxen: in truth, it seems to have become a mere phrase designating a solemn and splendid Sacrifice. But there is little doubt that in the other cases, where Homer was not using a customary phrase, but a poetical expression

[1] Il. ix. 381–4. [2] Il. ii. 649. [3] Od. xix. 174.

of his own, he intended to signify a very large or indefinite number. A much smaller number, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to show [1], is indefinitely large for Homer, than for us. There is, then, something singular, and requiring explanation, in this account of a city with a multitude of gates. If we take even the largest walled cities, like Rome, which may have some ten or twelve, it is difficult to conceive how the epithet could be applicable to gates in the ordinary sense. This difficulty seems to have been felt of old, and Diodorus[2] explained it as referring to the propulaia of the temples. I have understood that the structural forms within the city to this day exhibit what, existing in large numbers, might very well have passed in rumour as gates of the city, and might have been so represented to and by the Poet.

But, besides the primacy of wealth and the number of gates, Homer characterises Thebes of Egypt by a reference to the horse, and what is more, to the horse not as an animal of draught or burden, nor as an animal used for riding, but as driven in the chariots used for war, of which he represents that there were an enormous number, literally twenty thousand, in use at Thebes. That is to say, as to the mode of using the animal, he represents a stage of development in

[1] Studies on Homer, vol. iii. Aoidos, sect. iii. [2] Diod. Sic. i. 45.

Egypt corresponding with what we know prevailed in the Greece of his day, where the main and characteristic purpose for which horses were used was the traction of the chariot of war, or of princely travel; another great purpose, that of riding, being altogether secondary and rare, while the use of the horse in agriculture, or for burden, was apparently not yet in view. It is probable that the epithet of klutopōlos (famous for horses, or having famous horses), attached to Aïdoneus (Il. v. 654 *et alibi*), may be best explained by his correspondence in function with the Egyptian god Osiris. See inf. p. 236.

In the text of Homer generally, the horse stands in special relation with the East and with Poseidon. But it also stands in connection with the name of the Phoinikes. As to this name, we must remember that it includes all those foreigners who had intercourse with Greece through ships, and since the Phœnician mariners were the medium of this intercourse as carriers, their name comes to cover what is Eastern generally. This, again, means in a great degree what was Egyptian, in common with what was properly Phœnician. If, then, we ask whether the horse of Homer was chiefly related, as far as the text informs us, to Phœnicia or to Egypt, there is one strong reason in favour of the last-named country. It is this, that the Phaiakes of Scheria are evidently intended, from their great wealth

and maritime habits, to present to us a picture of Phœnicians proper; and that among them there is not the smallest reference to the horse.

Now, on turning to the Egyptian records, we find that the horse was not indigenous to Egypt, and was unknown there during the Old Pre-Theban Monarchy. It seems to have been introduced by the Shepherd Kings. But, under the warlike Theban kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the value of these animals was appreciated. Viewing the connection of the animal with Poseidon, and of Poseidon with Libya, it seems likely that the Egyptian supply may have been derived in part from that quarter. We have actual information that they were obtained from Asia in immense numbers in payment of tribute[1], as well as doubtless by commerce: so that Egypt became a great horse-market[2], and the horse a characteristic of Egypt. Accordingly, as it was an object of the Mosaic legislation (delivered about the time of Merepthah) to check intercourse with that country, we find it written:—'But he (the king) shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the intent that he should multiply horses[3].'

[1] Chabas, Études, p. 441. [2] Chabas, p. 443.

[3] Deut. xvii. 16. The ass, not the horse, was the animal of personal use from Moses to David, and is accordingly introduced in the Tenth Commandment.

And Solomon, who first in Israel had large numbers of horses, obtained them from Egypt[1]. Enormous ranges of stabling, we learn from Diodoros[2], subsisted in Thebes. Thus the reference of Homer to the chariots of Egypt is peculiarly appropriate to Thebes, and to the Theban period. But the want of any mention, excepting perhaps a single case (Il. x. 498), of riding concurs with the habitual mention of chariot driving, to give yet more of character to the passage. For the monuments of the Theban kings, which abound in pictures of the horsed chariot, but seldom represent equitation[3]. The use of the animal for agricultural draught also was making a beginning at this period. The horse is called by the name of 'kava,' and it is supposed to be derived from the root represented in the Sanscrit açva[4].

Since, then, very personal and characteristic description, when found to be also most accurate, is a strong indication of contemporary standing, the passage of the Iliad which we have been considering affords some evidence of the composition of the Poems during the period of the great Theban Dynasties.

There remains the passage concerning Thebes from the Odyssey:—

[1] 1 Kings x. 28. [2] i. 45.

[3] Chabas, Études, p. 430; F. Lenormant, Prem. Civilisations, i. 307, *seq.*

[4] F. Lenormant, ibid. p. 322.

Φύλω δ' ἀργύρεον τάλαρον φέρε, τύν οἱ ἔδωκεν
Ἀλκάνδρη, Πολύβοιο δάμαρ· ὃς ἔναι' ἐνὶ Θήβῃς
Αἰγυπτίῃς, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται[1].

It then proceeds to relate how, while presenting this silver work-basket to Helen, Polubos gave to Menelaos two baths of silver, two cauldrons or tripods, and ten talents of gold; while the wife of Polubos made a set of separate presents to his Queen; namely, the aforesaid basket of silver mounted on wheels, and a golden distaff.

This passage both corroborates and enlarges the evidence drawn from that on which we were last engaged. The statement that Thebes contained in its dwellings the largest amount of stored wealth, which might have passed for a mere figure in the fervid oratory of Achilles, reappears here in the calm narrative of this Poet as the simple statement of a fact, and pretty clearly exhibits him as contemporary with the greatness of Thebes.

But again, Polubos dwelt in Thebes; it was in Thebes itself that these presents were given. But Thebes is not on the Egyptian coast; it is removed from it by a distance of from three to four hundred miles. Why did Menelaos, a traveller by sea, penetrate so far inwards? or, rather, why is he represented as having

[1] Od. iv. 125–7.

visited Thebes, and as having there received the trophies of Egyptian hospitality? Surely because it was the actual capital of the country. The visit of Menelaos must then be referred to a period not later than the close of the Twentieth Dynasty, for after this period 'Tanite and Bubastite Pharaohs,' as Mr. Donne[1] remarks, were lords of the Nile valley; and the policy and wars of Egypt probably made it expedient to move the seat of government to a point nearer the Syrian frontier. But even the Twentieth Dynasty, after the Third Rameses, witnessed, amidst much vicissitude, times of confusion and rapid decay, which warrant the belief that the Homeric allusions to Thebes must belong to a period, if not before, yet at latest scarcely after the reign of that sovereign. In effect, we should refer the passages (always in their relation with the monumental Chronology) at least to the early part of the thirteenth century B.C., even though the sovereigns did not fall into insignificance, nor the Empire lose at least its titular sovereignty in Asia, until the latter part of the twelfth. It was this decadence of Egypt which gave subsequent scope even to the small kingdom of the Hebrews, under Kings David and Solomon, for rising during a brief space into considerable power.

[1] Thebæ Ægypti, in Smith's Dict. of Geography; F. Lenormant, i. 450.

When we have been thus enabled to connect the references in Homer to Egyptian Thebes with a given historic period, the passages which touch other cities of the same name acquire a fresh interest. We may reasonably suppose that this designation, discovered in Asia Minor or in Greece, indicates a foundation effected by settlers belonging to the great Egyptian Empire, and emigrating at some time during the Theban period.

The Thebes of Eëtion is mentioned or referred to in the Iliad several times. In Il. i. 466, it is the sacred city of Eëtion (ἱερὴ πόλις). It is connected, as we have already seen, with special excellence of horses; and, lastly, it has lofty gates (ὑψίπυλος, Il. iv. 416). It is surely remarkable that we find all these three characteristics reproduced in the Cadmeian Thebes of Boiotia. It is sacred (ἱερὰ πρὸς τείχεα Θήβης, Il. iv. 378). It is most closely associated with the horse; for to the Kadmeioi alone, besides the Trojans, does Homer give the designation of κέντορες ἵππων (Il. iv. 391). It is also remarkable for its gates, being the seven-gated Thebes (Il. iv. 406, Od. xi. 263). Both cities, too, were rich: Thebes of Eëtion is εὐναιετάουσα, or flourishing (Il. vi. 415), as to its territory, and ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον, a well-built city, in itself (Il. ii. 505); while Kadmeian Thebes is εὐρύχορος (Od. xi. 265). The three pointed charac-

teristics, as well as the fourth, all belonged to the great mother city in Egypt. She had the hundred gates; she horsed twenty thousand chariots; and she was eminently a sacred city, for she was the centre of the Ammon-worship.

Of the period of the foundation of Hupoplakian Thebes, we know nothing. Nor can the Cadmeian genealogy be made out from Homer, who tells us that Amphion and Zethos first settled and fortified, not the actual existing city, but the site (ἕδος, Od. xi. 263); and that Eurualos, who contended in the Funeral Games of the Iliad, had also beaten all the Kadmeians at Thebes on the occasion of the obsequies of Oidipous. All that the text does here is to throw back the advent of Kadmos, or of the settlers indicated by his name[1] (which, we are told, means immigrant or stranger), for several generations[2]. So that it shows the Theban name had remained in vogue for a considerable period

[1] Renan, Langues Sémitiques, p. 44.

[2] It is remarkable that Homer seems nowhere to bind himself to a personal Kadmos, and we may perhaps say the same as to a personal Aiolos. His abstinence from tracing any genealogy up to a source in conjunction with these names tends to support the historical credit of such genealogies as he actually supplies. Further, he gives the patronymic of Aiolidai to certain individuals. He gives that of Kadmeiones to the inhabitants of Boiotia, or at any rate of Thebes, without distinction. Here is at least a remarkable coincidence with the fact that the powerful foreign influence, which we term Phœnician, was represented at Thebes by a colony, but elsewhere in Greece, so far as we can learn, only by single persons or families.

before the War; and as to this indication it is evidently in accord with the facts of history.

IV.—The Sidonian link.

The names of Phoinikè and Phoinikes are, it will be remembered, names affixed by Greek foreigners, and having no root in the country to which they refer. Of Canaan, the true indigenous name of Phœnicia, we have no trace in the Poems. But we have, in eight passages of the Iliad and Odyssey, the names of Sidon and Sidonié, or those of its inhabitants, called Sidones and Sidonioi. This name is given us in the tenth chapter of Genesis,—which is, I believe, acknowledged by the best authorities to be the most valuable document of ancient Ethnography in the world,—as the name of the first-born son of Canaan, who is himself named fourth among the sons of Ham (Gen. x.6, 15); and there has been, I think, no doubt either of its local character, or of its great antiquity. Twice named in the tenth chapter of Genesis, Sidon appears again in the nineteenth chapter of Joshua, which, with the eighteenth, gives us the respective delimitation of the tribes of Israel on their settlement, as 'great Sidon' (v. 28). So in Joshua xi. 8, the children of Israel chased their enemies unto 'great Sidon.' In the later Scriptural notices of the name,

this epithet disappears. The two persons of Canaan and Sidon in the earliest notices may probably be regarded as the eponymists, or typical fathers of races[1].

Tyre, on the other hand, is not mentioned in Scripture except twice, until we reach the epoch of Solomon. First in the nineteenth chapter of Joshua, already mentioned (v. 29), it appears as a fortified city; and again in 2 Samuel xxiv. 7, when we have reached the reign of David, or the eleventh century B. C.

If the Exodus from Egypt took place under Merepthah in the fourteenth century B. C. (or at any earlier date), are we to treat the reference to Tyre as proving that it had been built and fortified before that period? In Mr. Espin's Preface to the Book of Joshua[2] there are remarks on the geographical lists as exhibiting much and now incurable imperfection: and of names, like numbers, it is exceedingly difficult to rely upon a perfectly faithful transmission in ancient records, because the figures are not as words are, generally interwoven with, and tested or sustained by, the grammatical sense of the context. It would be hazardous, then, to assert the existence of Tyre as a fortified city in the fourteenth century B. C., on the sole ground of this passage. Nor

[1] Movers, Phönizische Alberthum, i. 9.

[2] Speaker's Bible, vol. ii. p. 8.

can any strong reliance be placed on the report given by the Priests[1] of the temple of Heracles to Herodotos in the fifth century B.C., who then claimed for it an existence of 2300 years. There is no trace in Homer of the City of Tyre, except a single and slight, nay doubtful, one. Turo was the grandmother of Nestor, and a descendant of Poseidon. Her extraction, therefore, links her with the East: and it may or may not be connected with the existence of Tyre at the time. It can hardly have been prominent or powerful.

But plainly the text of the Poems implies that Sidon was the great and leading city of Canaan or Phoinikè. And in this respect they are in sufficiently clear accordance with the books of the Old Testament.

The Sidonians of Homer do not appear before us as a purely maritime people. In the Fourth Odyssey we have a list of the countries and peoples visited by Menelaos, where the Sidonioi stand apart from Phoinikè. When Homer mentions navigators from that quarter, they are commonly Phoinikes; but the Sidonians appear, when they have any special mark, in connection with works of art. At the Games, Achilles produces, as the prize of the footrace, a six-metre wrought silver bowl (τετυγμένον), which exceeded in beauty (whether of form

[1] Herod. ii. 43, 4.

or surface[1]) all others known: for it was worked by the Sidones, who are called πολυδαίδαλοι, workers used to rise, or capable of rising, to a highly ornamental style. But Phœnician navigators brought it over sea, and gave it to King Thoas[2]. Another like bowl was presented by Phaidimos, King of the Sidonians (whose name is another indication of their wealth and fame), to Menelaos[3]. Sidon is described as abounding in copper[4], and Sidonièe as flourishing (εὐναιομένη). Also, in the Sixth Iliad, Hecabè repairs to her store of embroidered robes, the works of the women of Sidon, which Paris had brought to Troy[5]. The Sidonians represent a distinct part of that material, as distinct from moral, civilization, which appears to have been the oldest in the history of man[6], and marks what may properly be called the Hamitic, or in part the Poseidonian, races.

We have, then, two facts, historically certain, that Sidon was very great and wealthy in the primitive period of the history of Canaan, and that it was completely overshadowed by Tyre at a subsequent, though still early, date. And the evidence of the Homeric text shows clearly that the Poems belong to the period of

[1] See sup. Part I. chap. ii. p. 54.
[2] Il. xxiii. 740–5.
[3] Od. iv. 615–9, and xv. 115–9.
[4] Od. xv. 424.
[5] Il. vi. 288–91.
[6] Renan, Langues Sémitiques, p. 502.

the predominance of Sidon, not to that when Tyre was paramount.

Tradition has supplied us with a date, as that at which the transition from the one to the other period occurred. Justin states that Sidon was the city first founded by the Phœnicians, that after a long time its inhabitants were expelled by the King of Ascalon, and that they built (which may conceivably mean resettled and extended) Tyre in the year before the capture of Troy[1]. Josephus placed this settlement of Tyre at 240 years before the dedication of Solomon's Temple. The exact date of that event is disputed: if we take the latest year given for it, or 969 B.C., the overthrow of the power of Sidon took place in 1209 B.C., which may be the year intended by Justin: though passages of the Odyssey seem to show us that the greatness of Sidon survived, if it were only for a short period, the fall of Troy[2]. Movers treats the Sidonian period as having begun not later than 1600 B.C., and as having ended with the transference of power to Tyre. For this he does not fix a date; but he refers to the foundation of Gades and Utica as colonies sent out from Tyre, after the depression of Sidon, in the end of the twelfth century B.C.[3]

[1] Justin, xviii. 3.
[2] Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 343. Smith's Dict., Art. Phœnicia.
[3] Mover's Phön. alt. Book i. chap. 8. (Theil. ii. p. 257.)

This supposes that Tyre, since it had reached the age of political parentage, must have come into possession of considerable power some time before.

Again, it may be observed that Sidon was overthrown from Ascalon, a city of the Philistines. It is held by Lenormant that the Philistines were the same people with the 'Pelesta of the mid-sea,' who entered Syria in the reign of Rameses III, and whose fleet was defeated by a Phœnician navy, acting under and for the Egyptian monarch; and that this defeat of the warriors was avenged a century after by the destruction of Sidon[1]. In any case, if he rightly assumes the identity of name between Pelesta and Philistia, it follows that the fall of Sidon was subsequent to the War of Rameses III.

Upon the whole, it may be stated that, while the references to Sidon and the Sidonians very closely associate the Poems with the Sidonian Period, there is nothing unreasonable in the traditional opinion that that period closed by the virtual overthrow of Sidon late in the thirteenth century B.C.

Nor need there be any hesitation in holding that to associate the Poems with the Sidonian Period is also to refer their composition to a date within the florescence, or bloom, of the Egyptian Empire.

[1] F. Lenormant, in *The Academy* of March 28, 1874.

V.—The Legend of Memnon, and the Keteians of the Eleventh Odyssey.

Nothing, I make bold to say, can be more improbable than the common tradition respecting Memnon, that he came from Egypt to take part in the war against Troy. It was only at the height of its power that the Egyptian dominion or influence could have reached so far as to the Dardanelles, or indeed, according to our information, into any part of Asia Minor. Again, the relation of subordination, which had probably once subsisted, laid the foundations not of alliance but of hostility, as we see from the participation of the Dardanians in the Asiatic combination against Rameses II. Further, if the interference of the Egyptian Empire in the Trojan War was improbable, still less was it likely that an empire of that magnitude should, if taking any part at all, take one so insignificant as by sending a single chief, with a mere contingent, to aid the side which had all along been the losing one: and this, again, only towards the close of the contest. The local tradition, connecting Memnon with Egypt through his supposed statue, is exploded by the knowledge now obtained that this was known historically in the country as the statue

of Amenophis III[1], the son of Thothmes III, who lived before the close, as it seems, of the sixteenth century B.C. To suppose, with others, that Memnon came from the Cushite kingdom, lying to the south of Egypt, would be yet more extravagant; for it was not from the ends of the known earth that we can reasonably suppose contingents to have been supplied for Troy. Next, we have no reason to presume habitual hostility between Egypt and the Greeks at the period of the Troica, for we find Menelaos visiting Egypt as a friend, and so received there, while he pays no visits at all, according to the Homeric record, along the coast, so much less remote, which had supplied military aid to Priam. And we see in the attack of Odysseus upon the Kikones, when he departed from Troas, how the associations and antipathies of the War subsisted when the War itself had concluded. Nor are we aware of any maritime means by which Memnon could have had access to Troas, as the Phœnicians appear to have maintained neutrality, and we know of no power in the North Ægean able to cope with the Greeks by sea. Improbable on general grounds, the connection of Memnon with Egypt itself is at direct variance with Homer. He calls Memnon *Ἠοῦς φαεινῆς ἀγλαὸς υἱός* (Od. iv. 188).

[1] Rawlinson's Five Great Monarchies, vol. i. p. 48. P. Smith, Hist. of the East, p. 94.

But Homer nowhere treats Egypt as the geographical equivalent of the East; the dwelling of Kirkè and the ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο are evidently in the general line of the Euxine.

Professor Rawlinson[1] has enumerated some of the countries which set up claims in after times to be associated with Memnon. These were Egypt, Ethiopia on the Nile, and Assyria at Susa. Again, his tomb was shown on the Aisepos, at Ptolemais, and at Palton in Syria; and his sword at Nicomedeia in Bithynia[2].

The meaning of all this appears to be, that, from the great and permanent fame of the Trojan War, there arose a natural tendency, in various countries, to claim a share in it, where tradition afforded any sort of handle for the purpose. Memnon was associated by Homer with the East, and the East with dark skin: and he did what no properly Trojan chief is ever related to have done; he killed a leading Greek warrior, seemingly in fair fight[3]. Hence connection with him could not but be honourable, and, in the same proportion, liable to be very freely claimed. But, as regards Assyria and Susa, his making the long land journey from thence to Troy is, perhaps, as improbable as a maritime journey from Egypt, which indeed had much more to do, than

[1] Five Great Monarchies, vol. i. p. 48, ed. 1871. [2] Paus. iii. 3–6.
[3] Od. iv. 186–8.

had Assyria, with the intervening countries of Syria and Palestine. In the endeavour to examine the case of Memnon, it should all along be borne in mind that the Egyptian monuments and inscriptions, now open to us, seem to be entirely without any trace of him, unless in the word *Men-menu*, Shepherd of shepherds, which belongs to some Asiatic personage[1].

There are but two passages in which Homer refers to Memnon. In the fourth Odyssey, he is described as the slayer of Antilochos, and as the famous son of the bright East. In the eleventh Odyssey, he is named for his personal beauty, in the following lines, where Odysseus describes to the Shade of Achilles the warlike exploits of his son Neoptolemos:—

ἀλλ' οἷον τὸν Τηλεφίδην κατενήρατο χαλκῷ,
ἥρῳ' Εὐρύπυλον· πολλοὶ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι
Κήτειοι κτείνοντο γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων.
κεῖνον δὴ κάλλιστον ἴδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον[2].

First, let us consider the tribute thus paid to Memnon for his personal beauty.

When Homer compares men on this ground, it seems to be always within the limits of some race. He does not compare the beauty of a Greek with that of a Trojan, but with that of other Greeks. In the second Iliad,

[1] Lauth, Homer und Ægypten, p. 31.

[2] Od. xi. 519–22.

Nireus is the most beautiful among all the Danaoi, who went to Troy, after the glorious Achilles[1]. After Achilles, prince and paragon of men, the Telamonian Ajax was the noblest in form again among all the Danaoi, as well as the greatest in martial achievements[2]. This last quoted declaration comes within less than thirty lines after the passage in which it is stated that Eurupulos was the most beautiful warrior after Memnon. When, therefore, the Poet says that Eurupulos, who led the Keteians, was the most beautiful person he had seen except the surpassing Memnon, analogy clearly leads us to suppose that Eurupulos and Memnon were of the same race, that is to say that they both were Asiatics of the same region and associations; and even a certain amount of presumption thus arises that both were Keteians.

In the Hippodromion at Olympia there was, as Pausanias informs us, a tablet which[3] represented Memnon as standing over against, or fighting with, Achilles. This representation supported the tradition of his great fame in war: and it suggests that, like so many more, he went down to death before the sword and spear of that unrivalled warrior. We have no direct testimony on this subject from Homer; but we may observe, from the passage under consideration,

[1] Il. ii. 674. [2] Od. xi. 550. [3] Paus. v. 22. p. 435.

that Odūsseus does not give any information about Eurupulos and Memnon to Achilles, but speaks of both as if they were well known already to his interlocutor, only calling Eurupulos τὸν Τηλεφίδην, 'I mean him the son of Telephos,' as if to distinguish him from the Greek Eurupulos, who commanded the contingent from Ormenion[1], so that the passage reads as if Memnon had been the original commander of the Keteians, and on his death Eurupulos had succeeded him.

Who, then, were these Keteians? and can we, through the traditions respecting Eurupulos or his father Telephos, obtain any light in regard to them, or to Memnon, whether as connected with them or otherwise?

With regard to Memnon, son of the Morning, we know that he must have come from some country to the east of Troas, in order to obtain that appellation. But, are we to look for the Keteioi in the same direction?

We may, in the first place, observe, it is probable that they came from a distance. First, because we find that, as was natural, Priam had already obtained, at the beginning of the war, or, at least, before the period of the action of the Iliad, assistance from all his nearer neighbours, in geographical order, associated together in a great international struggle. The only distinct notice

[1] Il. ii. 734.

we have of a new arrival of allies during the war is in the case of a contingent of Thracians, under their king, Rhesos[1]. Now, the Thracians of the Trojan Catalogue were those only who bordered upon the current, *i.e.*, the straits, of the Hellespont :—

ὅσσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἐέργει[2].

It cannot, then, be doubted that the Thracians of Rhesos were those who came from the inland country towards Mount Haimos, and who were thus drawn in, as the struggle, being prolonged, and growing more arduous, led to greater efforts on the part of the losing side. But we have another sign that the Keteioi came from a distance. It is, that they entered into the war only for a consideration : receiving the gifts of Priam (γυναίων εἵνεκα δώρων), which, probably, may have been presented to the Queen, or some chief woman of their nation[3]. As we find Kinures of Cyprus[4], at the farthest point to which Agamemnon's political influence could be stretched, sending him a valuable gift, in order, apparently, to be excused from serving in the War, yet to maintain friendship, so we can well understand how, when military aid was obtained under great necessity, and from a distance, where community of interest would

[1] Il. x. 434. [2] Il. ii. 845.

[3] In Egypt, as we find from the records, women in some very remarkable instances administered the government. [4] Il. xi. 20.

be less strongly felt, gifts should pass to those who rendered it.

The next observation to be made is, that Strabo witnesses to the existence of a river in the Eleatis, called Keteios, which falls into the Kaikos, in Mysia[1], but, as a mere mountain stream; which, besides that the formation would not be regular, was hardly likely to give its name to a race, if it might itself receive one from some members of a race. Who the Keteioi were, he frankly avows himself quite ignorant; and he treats as fables the current explanations of the learned. The lengthened commentary of Eustathius[2] on the passage, in which he inclines to derive the word from κῆτος, adds nothing to our knowledge, though he has got hold of the idea that these Keteioi were mercenaries.

If we look at the name in itself, it admits, by the aid of recent Egyptian discoveries, of a perfectly simple and natural identification. In the Book of Genesis, we hear of the children of Heth, the second born son of Canaan, who are afterwards called the Hittites[3]. Of this race, one, and that the smaller, portion was in immediate contact with the Jews. The great body of the nation occupied northern Syria, and the lower valley of the Orontes: a branch, apparently, of the great Hamitic

[1] Strabo, b. 13. p. 616. [2] P. 1697.
[3] Gen. x. 15.

family, which supplied, in the earliest times, the bulk of the Syrian population.

This warlike and powerful race formed both the great barrier in the north against the extension of Egyptian power, and the centre of military confederations, created for the purpose of repressing it. The name Heth, in Scripture, is represented by Kheta of the Egyptian monuments, and by the Khatti, of the Assyrian inscriptions[1]; and it is principally from the former of these that an accurate idea of their position is to be derived. The Kheta of the Egyptians may well be, as far as the name is concerned, the Keteioi of Homer: indeed, it is not easy to suggest any other rendering, so simple and so obvious, of their name in the Greek tongue.

In the reign of the great Rameses II, when the Egyptian Monarchy was beginning to assume a defensive attitude, the Kheta, or Hethites, made war upon that monarch[2], with a wide support, both from East and West; although, of the Phœnicians, they were joined by the town of Arados alone. But, from Asia Minor, they counted as allies, among others, the people of Mysia, and the Dardanians of Troas; indeed, as the inscription is read, of Ilios and of Pedasos. This alliance shows that relations existed between the Kheta and the north-west

[1] Smith's Ancient Hist. of the East, p. 6.

[2] Lenormant's Manual de l'Histoire de l'Orient, Book iii. 5, 4.

corner of the Fore-Asia (Vorder-Asiens), as it is conveniently called by the Germans.

But there are other signs, which tend to show an ethnical, as well as a political, connection between these two quarters. The immediate neighbours of the Kheta on the West, were the Cilicians. According to the mythical genealogy of Apollodorus[1], and others, Kilix was the brother of Phoinix, and the grandson of Poseidon, the great Hamitic or Libyan deity. When the Kilikes are called Semites, it is, perhaps, in a sense in which the term is also applied to the Phœnicians; that is to say their language, so far as it is known by inscriptions, belonged to a family of tongues which appears to have been used in common by the Semites and the Asiatic Hamites of the great migration from the head of the Persian Gulf[2]. Next, what appears to be most clearly established is their immediate relationship to the Phœnicians, with whose equipment in the navy of Xerxes theirs nearly agreed[3]. This similarity would, without doubt, be promoted by their maritime habits. On the other hand, the access by land into their country, from the East and South, was round the Gulf of Issus, through the pass of Mount Amanus; and if not identical in composition

[1] Apollod. ii. 1, 4.
[2] Lenormant, Book i. 5, 3.
[3] Herod. vii. 89, 91; Smith, Anc. Hist. of East, p. 430.

with the Kheta, the Kilikes must have been in pretty close relations with that conterminous nation.

But if we turn to the Troad, we find that it had in its immediate neighbourhood its own race of Kilikes, reckoned, probably, among the neighbouring Mysians. Eetion, father of Andromachè, dwelt under Plakos,—

Κιλίκεσσ' ἄνδρεσσειν ἀνάσσων[1],

and Achilles, destroying the city of Hupoplakian Thebes, is thus described :—

ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλίκων εὐναιετάωσαν[2].

Strabo, moreover, records the traditions, which, as well as etymology, connect the Kilikes of Mysia with the Kilikes of Cilicia[3].

Again, there are reasons why we should look for the presence of non-Aryan races, other than the Kares, in the Trojan circle of allies. In the Catalogue, Homer calls the Kares Βαρβαρόφωνοι[4], the speakers of a strange tongue. And they are the only race so named. But in the fourth Book, after describing the bleating, so to call it, of the Trojan Army, a broken and various noise, as when each sheep answers its lamb, he gives, as a reason,—

οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦν ὁμὸς θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς,
ἀλλὰ γλῶσσ' ἐμέμικτο, πολύκλητοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες[5].

[1] Il. vi. 397; Strabo, xiv. p. 667.
[2] Il. vi. 415.
[3] Strabo, pp. 6, 7.
[4] Il. ii. 867.
[5] Il. iv. 437.

We may, therefore, well look for some others besides the Kares to justify, by their foreign speech, this general description. It may be that the contingent from Lycia, which was clearly under commanders of Phœnician extraction, likewise used the Phœnician tongue. But, knowing as we do, that there were Kilikes in the neighbourhood of Troy, apparently dwelling among the people of Mysia, we seem justified in pointing to these also, since they were probably of the Hamitic stock if they were of the Cilician race; and the sense of the passage we are considering therefore tends to support this presumption of identity between the two sets of Kilikes.

The Khita would certainly have been, to Homer, barbarians in speech. It appears probable, to say the least, that these Kilikes were the same. There are several marks which tend to connect Eëtion, their sovereign, with Poseidon, and, therefore, with the Poseidon-worshipping races. One is the name of his city, Thebè[1]; and another, the excellence of his horses[2]. We are not, however, called upon to reject the common explanation of the passage in Od. xi. 519–22, which is probably true, but not the whole truth. There might be Keteioi both in Mysia as well as on the Orontes, as

[1] The son of a Thebaios fights on the Trojan side, Il. viii. 120.
[2] Il. viii. 136; xvi. 153.

there were Kilikes in Mysia and in Cilicia, and as there were Lukioi in Troas and in Lycia; and as we know that another branch of the Hethite or Hittite race dwelt among the seven nations of Canaan, at a distance from the parent stock; and, again, as we find a town founded by this same race in Cyprus, namely the Citium of the Romans.

In the traditional report of the swarthiness of Memnon, there is nothing to raise a presumption that he was not one of the Khita. They were Canaanites and Hamites, worshippers of Poseidon; and it is easy to show, from Homer, through the hair, how remarkably he associated darkness of skin with all that was Eastern.

Now, if Memnon were leader of the Ketetoi, it may be observed, in the first place, that his country lay far eastwards in the same parallel of latitude as Southern Greece, and he might, therefore, with ample consistency, be called by the Poet, son of the Morning. And, most certainly, the Homeric statement, that Memnon was the famous son of the Morning, would be in thorough accordance both with the Poet's geographical idea of the East and sunrise, which the Odyssey by no means carries far towards the South, and with the fame to which the Khita, as the resolute and somewhat successful opponents of the vast Egyptian power, may well have attained.

Of the two questions I have been considering in con-

junction, namely the legend of Memnon, and the true interpretation of the Keteian name in the Eleventh Odyssey, the latter is of the greater importance in relation to the date of Homer, as it connects him with the period of that nation's prosperity and power. But if we can do anything to identify the position of Memnon, it adds a stone to the fabric. And an old Greek monument enables us to take a further step in this direction.

The Lycians, under Sarpedon, are the most remote, towards the south and east, of Priam's Allies at the period of the Catalogue. Next to them lie the Kilikes, who, as I contend, are associated with the Kheta. If, then, I am right about Memnon, he and Sarpedon were territorial neighbours. Now Pausanias[1] gives us a description in detail of the paintings of Polugnotos in the Leschè, or place of resort for conversation, at Delphoi. In one portion of these paintings[2], the figure of Sarpedon is introduced in a pensive position, his head leaning upon his hands. Next to Sarpedon is placed Memnon, with one of his hands placed on the shoulder of Sarpedon; which must mark, if not consolation, at least friendly relation of some sort. And what can this be? Sarpedon is slain during the action of the Iliad, before Memnon has come to Troas. The picture then does not relate to

[1] Il. x. 25, *seqq.* [2] Paus. x. 31. p. 875.

a personal friendship and intercourse in Troas. Is it not a reasonable explanation that the position indicates the friendly territorial neighbourhood of nations, which, it is most probable, had been united in resistance to a foreign supremacy?

There is yet another presumption bearing on the subject of the Keteioi, which arises from the text of Homer. In the Fourth Odyssey, Menelaos describes to Telemachos and his friend his own experiences since quitting Troas:—

> ἦ γὰρ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθεὶς
> ἠγαγόμην ἐν νηυσὶ καὶ ὀγδοάτῳ ἔτει ἦλθον·
> Κύπρον Φοινίκην τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίους ἐπαληθείς,
> Αἰθίοπάς θ' ἱκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβοὺς
> καὶ Λιβύην, ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσιν[1].

Did we but know in a Menelaid the details of this eight years' tour! Evidently it approached to, though it might not equal, the tour of Odysseus. It differs in this among other respects, that it does not lie so completely beyond the limits of Hellenic navigation and experience. For Egypt and Phœnicia were to Homer, in some sense, known countries, inasmuch as, to say the least, the Greeks were assured of the existence and character of such cities as Thebes and Sidon; while Kupros or Cyprus was, as we see from the Eleventh Iliad, partially within the Hellenic circles of political influence.

[1] Od. iv. 81–5.

Still, the very same expression which Menelaos uses to describe his wanderings, is employed by the Seer Theoclumenos in the Fifteenth Odyssey, and again by Eumaios, to describe those of Odysseus: 'he is one who underwent much, and travelled much [1].'

Now, bearing in mind that the navigation of the ancients was as far as possible coast navigation, the question arises, How was it that Menelaos is represented as not having touched land anywhere along the great distance between Troas and Phoinikè, except at Kupros, which we know to have been a friendly country? As to Phoinikè, it appears plain, from the Poems, that the Phœnicians took no side in the war; and the visit of Menelaos to Egypt presumes it to have been at the time either neutral or friendly. Evidently (as I would suggest) he avoids the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, as far as Lycia, because we know it from the Trojan Catalogue to have been hostile. But, after what we have seen of the presence of Kilikes in Mysia, we at once account for his avoiding the Cilician coast on the same ground, namely, that it was held by a hostile population. There is still an intervening link, the coast of Northern Syria beyond Troas, which was in the country of the Hethites or Kheta. Is it not a fair presumption that this coast was avoided on the same

[1] Od. xv. 176, 400.

ground? and therefore have we not fresh reason to believe that the Kheta were also the Keteioi of the Eleventh Odyssey?

That the Phœnicians did not take part in the war is readily accounted for, not only by their distance, but by their position as the chief traders of the Mediterranean, whose business it was, with a due allowance for the liberty of kidnapping, to be at peace with both sides. Hence probably it was that they had chosen to remain all along in a modified subordination to the great Egyptian empire, rather than to avail themselves of their considerable natural advantages for resistance. That Paris had visited Sidon[1] before the war proves nothing adverse to this supposition, as he was then on the most friendly terms also with Greece itself.

To sum up what has been said: we thus find Homer, with respect to the Memnonian tradition, in contact and full consistency, upon a reasonable and probable interpretation of his text, with the facts of real history. Memnon, with whose personality we need not be greatly troubled, was for him the son of the bright East. Therefore he could not well be Egyptian: yet Egypt might afterwards claim him, in fond connection with the traditions of a period when she had proudly possessed the Empire of the East. He could hardly come from

[1] Il. vi. 290.

Susiana or Assyria, with which there is no trace whatever of social or political relations. Yet he almost certainly must have come from outside the circle of the earlier Trojan alliances, and therefore from beyond Lycia, and the countries of the Musoi and Kilikes. There lie the Kheta; and the Poet supplies us with their name, Keteioi. These warriors were separated from the Phœnicians generally, and therefore from relations with Greece, by their hostility to Egypt: and with this historic fact their supplying aid to Troy is in complete harmony.

VI.—The Legend of the Pseudodusseus.—The Voyage of the Ship Argo.

It is not the object of this Chapter to draw out from the Poems all the traces of connection between Greece of the heroic age and the great Egyptian Empire; but only such of them as tend towards defining the chronological limits within which, so far as we are enabled to judge from the Egyptian records or other positive testimony, the War of Troy historically falls.

Having now set forth the principal points of contact between the Homeric text and the Egyptian and Phœnician history, I proceed to mention one or two others of minor moment, which are, however, distinctly subsidiary to those already named.

(I.) In the Fourteenth Odyssey, Odūsseus has availed himself on his return to Ithaca, of the hospitality of Eumaios, to whom he remains unknown. Eumaios desires to learn who he is, and how and why he came to Ithaca. This demand Odūsseus meets by a fictitious narrative, which I have termed the Legend of the Pseudodusseus.

He describes himself as a Cretan of high extraction, not formed in industrious habits, but given to war and buccaneering. By these, being a sea-rover, he had greatly prospered; but had afterwards been obliged to take part as a Cretan leader in the Achaian war with Troy. On his return, after only a month of rest at home, he prepared an expedition against Egypt. It consisted of nine ships, and the people readily took service in it[1].

A fair wind brought them in five days to Egypt; and he proceeds in the following terms:—

'I moored in the river Aiguptos. I bid my gallant men stay where they were, and haul the vessel ashore, while I sent out scouts for a survey of the land. But they, unable to restrain their eagerness and wantonness, at once fell to making havock of the well-tilled fields of the men of Egypt, slaying the full-grown males, and carrying off the women and young children. But

[1] Od. xiv. 199–248.

the din soon reached the city. And the inhabitants, hearing it, came down at the following dawn. The whole plain was filled with chariots, and with foot-soldiery, and with the blaze of armour. And Zeus, lover of the thunderbolt, struck my comrades with a miserable panic, nor did a man of them stand firm, for mischief gathered on all sides. There they slew many of us with the sharp edge of weapons; and some they took alive to become their bondsmen[1]. . . .

'As for me, I went straight to meet the king in his chariot; and grasped and kissed his knees. He raised me, and pitied me; and, placing me in the chariot, carried me weeping to his home. Many, indeed, rushed at me with spears, for in truth they were vehemently exasperated; but he kept them off, for he had regard to the displeasure of Zeus Xeinios, the great avenger of ill-deeds.'

Then he relates how he abode for years in Egypt, receiving kind gifts, and acquiring wealth, until a Phœnician rogue induced him to abscond. Upon this he went to Phoinikè, and from thence, after a year, embarked for Libya, where they fell into ill weather which destroyed their vessel, and new adventures followed which are not to the present purpose[2].

Is it possible to read this narrative in the light of

[1] Od. xiv. 258-72.

[2] Od. xiv. 278-309.

the Egyptian discoveries, and not to receive the impression that it was by no means a pure and arbitrary invention, but one adapted to the law of likelihood, and related to some known facts? The first, because Odūsseus was not merely entertaining the itching ears of a simpleton, but putting a very shrewd and intelligent man in possession of what he was to take for a real biography. The second, because of the remarkable points of resemblance with what we now know from the Egyptian records. Let us observe:—

(1) How eminently Egypt is, in this tale, the land of horses, and of horses in chariots, when they are specifically mentioned as having come out in the tumultuary muster of the population against a small band of freebooters.

(2) How the general course of the narrative agrees with that of the Libyan coalition; an aggressive invasion, success in the first instance, severe suffering inflicted, the ruin of the expedition through a decisive battle, great slaughter and a residue of prisoners. Even the mercy shown to Odūsseus agrees with what we are told happened in the same case, when a number of the invaders were allowed to remain as subjects.

(3) There is something strange, and not agreeable to Achaian habits, in the remarkable clemency of the Egyptian king to his suppliant prisoner. But Sir

G. Wilkinson, commenting on Herod. ii. 102[1], speaks of the comparative clemency of the Egyptians, and of the honour paid by Sesostris to those who gallantly withstood him.

(4) Still more remarkable is the case of the escape. A Phœnician induced him to abscond from Egypt, and in absconding to go with him to Phoinikè, which was the nearest place of refuge. This is perfectly explicable. But next, he persuades the supposed Cretan to go on to Libya, when we should have expected him to seek his own country, Crete. The explanation is supplied by the Egyptian records, though we have no sign from the Poems of anything like ordinary commerce or other intercourse between Greece and the coast of Africa; the resort of a Greek to that country ceases to be inexplicable, when we find that its people had, probably within living memory, been engaged in a common enterprise with the Achaians against Egypt.

Is it not evidently the expedition against Merepthah, from which this Legend thus in many important points has been borrowed? and does it not support the view, which the use in it of the word Achaians suggests, that that expedition took place at a time shortly before, or near, the date of the War of Troy?

[1] In Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 168.

It may indeed be said that the Legend represents a buccaneering raid, whereas the invasion was conducted by a coalition of nations. The answer is tolerably plain; the Egyptian records are unhappily wanting at the place where they should give the numbers of the Achaian contingents; but they show with sufficient clearness that the numerical force of the invading army was mainly African. The Libyans (or Lebu) recorded as killed were 6359. Of another nation whose name is blank, there were 6111, and of a third, also blank, 2370[1]. As the record gives 9111 daggers or knives taken from the Maxyes, the larger of these two numbers, it would seem, belongs to them, and the third may be that of the Kahakas. The Maxyes were much more nearly united with the Libyans than the Achaians were (though all were probably Aryan races); and were comprehended with them in the general designation of Tahennu, which included all the neighbours of Egypt on the West[2]. But when we come to the transmarine contingents, we find the Achaian name given, with the numbers blank: the Sikels, who have but 222 killed, and the Tursha, or supposed Etruscans, whose slain are 542. From this it appears probable, though not certain, that the Achaian force in the war against Merepthah was on a

[1] Chabas, pp. 199, 200. [2] De Rougé's Memoire, pp. 14, 15.

scale not widely different from that which we find in the very curious legend of the Pseudodusseus, in which the nine ships may be estimated to have conveyed not more than from four to six hundred men.

(II.) Though it cannot be said that the Records of Egypt throw any direct light upon the voyage of the ship Argo, yet indirectly they suggest a sense and meaning for a legend, which it has been heretofore so difficult to supply with a probable basis of fact.

We have long, indeed, been in possession of most curious information respecting the Colchians. Pindar[1] calls them the dark-faced (κελαίνωπες). Herodotus states that a colony, detached from the Army of Sesostris, settled on the Phasis. He has no doubt that the Colchians are an Egyptian race. He found that tradition subsisting among them. He relies partly on their having black skin and woolly hair, which mark them as kin to the Ethiopians, but very much more on their practising circumcision. The Egyptians and the Colchians use, too, a manner of weaving unknown elsewhere[2]. I do not refer to the less weighty authorities of Diodoros and other late witnesses. But I may mention that the language of ancient Colchis, now Mingrelia, is declared to be Turanian[3].

[1] Pyth. iv. 377

[2] Herod. ii. 103-5.

[3] Max Müller, Languages of the Seat of War, pp. 112-4.

There were but two great events, antecedent to the Troica, and known to us by the general tradition of the country, in which Greece had an interest truly national. Homer, who gives us so largely the adventures of Phoinix, and the local war of Nestor, alludes to the events I speak of in a manner bearing no proportion to their historical moment. He was too skilled an artist to bring freely upon the stage any figure which could vie with the subject of his song; and it is probable that the Legends of the War of Thebes and of the ship Argo were subjects of legend competing with the War of Troy. Of the War of Thebes he gives us only glances, and those incidentally to the character and position of Diomed [1]. The ship Argo is named but once in the Poems [2].

We have recently, I think, begun to perceive that the expedition against Thebes was a national expedition; an expedition, as Homer phrases it, of Achaians against Cadmeians. Mitford had noticed it as 'the first instance of a league among Grecian Princes [3]. The

[1] Il. iv. 373–400; Il. v. 800–8. [2] Od. xii. 70.

[3] Mitford, chap. i. sect. 3. Notwithstanding his prejudices, Mitford is an author whom no one need even at this day be ashamed to consult or quote. Fifty years ago he enjoyed a monopoly of authority; he is now perhaps unduly depressed. He surely marks one of the advancing stages of Greek historiography.—I do not find the subject noticed in the work of Bishop Thirlwall. Mr. Grote's view of the legendary period, which as coming from him carries great authority, was not favourable to the admission of

Theban country was the grand seat of foreign immigration, and influence, in Middle and Southern Greece. Elsewhere there had been individuals or families settling in the country, rather than communities. Here there appears to have been a real colony; indeed a colony which perhaps displaced or supplanted a prior settlement by Amphion and Zethos[1]. The War against Thebes has notes which indicate that it was probably an early effort of the nation, just awaking, under its Achaian name, to self-consciousness and independence, in which the domestic dissensions of the ruling families of Thebes were used as the occasion for putting down an element of power in the country, which was or had been formidable by reason of its derivation from the great, though in all likelihood declining, Egyptian Empire. The tenacious vitality of the motives from which it sprang would seem to show that it was far more than a personal quarrel. The expedition of the Epigonoi took place after Poluneikes, the person by whom the movement was originally prompted, was already dead. It is mentioned but slightly in Homer[2]. Yet the completeness of its success seems to be attested by the decentralized

the too realistic idea of nationality as among the motives which prompted mythical ornamentation. It is set forth in his sixteenth chapter.

[1] Od. xi. 260–5. [2] Il. iv. 406.

condition in which the Boiotians were mustered for the Trojan war, not as a monarchy, but under five apparently equal leaders[1].

Now I would suggest that the voyage of the ship Argo was probably a manifestation, and an effort, at a very slightly earlier date, of the same feeling. As it stands in the framework of ordinary Greek legend, it has been found by the ablest critics extremely difficult either to accept as history, or to etherialize and translate as myth[2]. Mitford[3] refers it to the ambition of Jason to obtain distinction by a freebooting expedition to a more remote quarter than any theretofore molested. Bishop Thirlwall laments that when the marvellous is stripped off, and only a dry husk left, the story appears only more meagre, and not more intelligible[4]. Mr. Grote treats the inquiry, whether there be in the Legend any basis of fact or not, as hopeless. But it is plain that when once we are able to show an historic link between Egypt and Greece, importing supremacy at a given period on one side, and dependence on the other, there is nothing forced or improbable in the hypothesis that the Greeks, when the yoke had ceased to press them, might have been attracted alike by the love

[1] Il. ii. 494.
[2] Thirlwall's Greece, vol. i. chap. v. pp. 132-9. 12mo edition.
[3] Chap. v. p. 143. [4] Part. i. chap. xiii. pp. 332-4.

of booty and the hope of revenge to any point where Egyptian authority was represented feebly enough to invite attack.

Sir G. Wilkinson[1] considers that the object of the Argonautic expedition may have been to obtain a share of the lucrative trade with the East which flourished on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. But that expedition preceded the Homeric Poems, and it is surely evident that even at their date the Greeks had not attained to any such high development of their commercial conceptions. Indeed, the entire tale, unlike that of the War against Thebes, presents circumstances of improbability which, in the absence of any specific answer, are most startling. In the entire of the Poems we never hear of a merchantship of the Greeks. The Argo, if it existed, must have been a pure sea-rover's vessel fitted for booty. As a single vessel, she could not be meant for war in the sense of the Trojan expedition. But if she was meant for booty only, why did she seek it at so great a distance, in a sea as yet untraversed by the Greeks? And why, above all, if she were but a pirate, was she an object of intense national feeling to the people of her own time, or why did she take so high and lasting a place in the recollections of the race? If, as we know from the records,

[1] In Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 169.

Egypt was now no longer a maritime power in the Mediterranean, and the Achaian people were disposed to retaliate; and if, as tradition, together with many signs, assures us, there was in the Black Sea a weak Egyptian outpost, showing probably, in Greek eyes, some of the wealth but little of the force of the old Empire; then I think, and perhaps then only, do we attain to a rational hypothesis as to the motive and character of the Argonautic expedition.

Now, slight as is the notice in the Odyssey, it gives us assistance on at least two points. While declaring that Argo, and she only, had passed through the dangerous Sumplegades, or the Bosphorus, on her voyage, it calls her *πασιμέλουσα*—an object of universal, i.e., national interest; and it states that she never would have effected the passage, except by means of the love of Herè for Jason[1].

Why did Herè thus love Jason, not (like Eōs or Demeter) with a passionate or mortal, but with a divine and protecting love? Among the surest indications in Homer, are those afforded by the introduction of a deity in connection with some special person or purpose. Now, Herè is by a peculiar and exclusive excellence, the great Achaian goddess. Not like Zeus and Apollo, who are wholly liberated from merely

[1] Od. xii. 69–72.

national affections; or Poseidon, who everywhere holds fast by those of his own race or longitude; or Athenè, whose worship seems to have been generally diffused, and whose sympathies in the war are given to individuals rather than to a race or country: the basis of her national action seeming to lie exclusively in that offence of Paris, from which she had suffered a slight together with Herè[1]. It is Herè, and Herè only, on whose inner heart is written in deep characters the Achaian name; whose energy on behalf of the army never ceases, who beguiles Zeus, who compels the Sun to set when he wishes to continue shining, who gives her sympathy to all that is Greek, and nothing that is not Greek, and whose central worship through the historic ages was in Argos, a district of Achaian settlement, and a centre of Achaian power. When Homer says that Argo passed the Straits in safety because Herè guided her, out of her care for Jason (ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσωνι), I read him as meaning that Jason was engaged in a true national enterprise, and that the goddess proper to the nation therefore kept him scatheless.

Much more might be said on the connection between the Greece of Homer and Egypt. I shall resume the subject in another Chapter of notices either more frag-

[1] Il. xxiv. 27.

mentary and isolated than those we have been considering, or else belonging to branches of the investigation different from the more strictly historical inquiry. Meantime the reader will be led to ask, why is it that, while the later and uncertified Greek tradition testifies to Egyptian influence and settlement over heroic Greece in forms so numerous that we cannot refer them all to a casual origin, the direct traces of the connection are so faintly marked in the Poems? Again, Lauth, in his 'Homer und Ægypten,' has pursued in much curious and interesting detail the search in the Egyptian records for names which we find in the Poems. I shall avail myself of the fruits of his labours; and I shall also offer many suggestions which the Poems themselves, under the increased and increasing light which now suffuses them, have stirred in my mind. But the more we are able to supply indications that the Poet must have derived much, and even must have known that he derived much, from Egyptian and Eastern sources, the more pressingly the question will be put whether as matter of fact the connection, if it existed, has not been made the subject of a designed concealment in the Poems? This is not the place to give the full answer. I will only here say, in relation to the questions I have raised, that if, when Homer sang, there was the memory of a time still recent,

during which the young nation, now grown so strong in self-consciousness, energy, and hope, had been in political subordination to Egypt, that of itself was reason enough for a Poet with the intense Hellenism and Autocthonism of Homer to suppress or reduce as much as possible the direct tokens of the connection.

VII.—Homer and Rameses II.

I have been thus far more or less upon the ground of history; I conclude with offering what is certainly pure conjecture; and yet, I think, conjecture not unreasonable.

Of the great Egyptian Empire of Rameses II and the Nineteenth Dynasty, Homer, or at least Hellas, may, or rather must, humanly speaking, have known something, on account of their relation to continental and yet more certainly to insular Greece. But, considering the military greatness of that Empire, its numerous expeditions to Syria, and the concern of the Phœnicians, who were as to all such matters the sole or main informants to the Greeks, in its affairs, some *tenuis aura*, some breath, at least, of the personal renown of the Egyptian kings and warriors, must have passed into the atmosphere of Greece. With respect to Thebes, we have seen that the single allusion of the kind is

one apparently founded not on vague rumour, but upon real tidings truly characteristic of their subject. There was probably some corresponding knowledge of other things and persons. Now it is to be remarked specially at this place, that Rameses II, as we are told, enjoyed what other great men before Agamemnon[1] wanted—namely, the advantageous chance for fame which the muse principally bestows[2]. The contemporary epic of Pentaour has recorded, and doubtless enlarged, his deeds. It was probably due to this Poem, either alone or with other causes, that in tradition he outgrew predecessors whose real achievements, or at least whose real power, was greater, and that he not only outgrew, but even absorbed them; for with the world outside of Egypt, down even to our time, Sesostris was the hero of that country, and Sesostris is now believed to have been Rameses II. And this great but shadowy name was the sole but much questioned testimony to the fact, that the supremacy among humankind had once belonged to a great Egyptian Empire. According to the Pentaour, this monarch personally performed in the war with the Kheta such prodigies of valour as may fairly be deemed without example, and considered to approximate to the superhuman. Was it the echo

[1] Hor. Od. iv. 9. 25.

[2] Lenormant, i. 411, and Premières Civilisations, vol. i. p. 287.

of these feats of war, or of this resounding celebration of them, that suggested to Homer the colossal scale of his Achilles? a warrior against whom, while heroic strength and prowess secured only an *impar congressus*, mere numbers, however accumulated, were but as dust in the balance; and the very apparition of whose form discomfited a host[1]. The Poet is, to say the least, notably in correspondence with the poetical account of Rameses, who is represented as surrounded when alone by 2500 chariots of the enemy, as making his appeal to Ammon, and as cutting his way through the hostile army, with great glory to the horses who drew his chariot; all singularly in sympathy and accordance with the spirit of the Homeric picture, and with its preter-human element[2].

But Rameses was also, and this according to the inscriptions, a portentous sensualist[3]. In a long life, we are told, he had 166 children, of whom fifty-nine were sons. It was perhaps this extraordinary form of human excess—and if not it was almost certainly some similar exorbitancy—that may have suggested to the Poet a picture so intensely foreign, and so repulsive to the Greek manners, as that of Priam; who had fifty sons,

[1] Il. xviii. 215–29.
[2] Lenormant, Premières Civilisations, vol. i. pp. 289–294.
[3] Lenormant, Hist., vol. i. p. 423.

with a number of daughters, nowhere specified; but twelve were married inmates of his palace[1]. And his vast progeny proceeded from a combination of mothers about which we are in the dark, three only being expressly named; and nineteen of the sons being credited to Hecabè[2]. I do not, however, put this forward as in itself a matter of weight.

The argument for such conjectures may be summed up thus. Contemporary Hellas was subject, after the manner of an eastern empire, to the Egyptian Sovereigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and, titularly at least, perhaps also to those of the Nineteenth. On this account, it must have had some information as to extraordinary characters and events connected with the great Empire, whose yoke, probably a light one from the remoteness of the seat of power, it bore.

The force of this consideration is heightened, when we recollect that the tribes or nation, who constituted the maritime arm of this great Empire, were also the race who, described in Homer and by the Greeks as Phoinikes, were their principal and perhaps almost sole informants concerning occurrences which took place at a distance from their own coasts.

Now this Rameses the Second was evidently reputed

[1] Il. xxiv, 493, b. 248. See Studies on Homer, vol. iii. p. 210, *seq.*

[2] Il. xxiv. 496.

to be a person of the most marked individuality; a man so extraordinary—at least in the verse of his Bard—that though he does not represent the climax of Egyptian power, which in his reign was insensibly beginning to decline, yet he cast both his successors and his more potent predecessors into the shade through his heroic force and prominence; and he passed into the general tradition of the world with a name which reached the historic times as that of a great conqueror, while all the rest were forgotten beyond the bounds of Egypt itself.

In the Poems of Homer, while we have much that is remarkable indeed, but still within the limits of human experience, two pictures only are presented to us, which surpassed them: the character of Achilles, in its colossal dimensions both of sentiment and action; and the ménage of Priam, in its Asiatic multiformity so strangely contrasted with the modesty of early Greek life. And the hint or suggestion of both these representations is possibly to be recognised in the character of Rameses the Second.

VIII.—Computations founded on the Foregoing Sections.

I will now bring together the figures which are yielded by the three wars against Egypt under Rameses II, his

son Merepthah, and Rameses III. The dates of the attacks are taken in the two first, approximately at 1406 and 1345 B.C.; for the third exactly, as M. Lenormant informs us, at 1306 B.C.

The characteristic names of the three Expeditions, which supply the links with Greek history, are respectively Dardanians, Achaians, and Danaans. The first expedition was certainly, and the second probably, before the War of Troy; the third must in all likelihood have been later than the War. The ranges of time, which I have computed from the facts of the several attacks, would give us the following limits, as those within which the Siege of Troy must, according to the Egyptian records, have fallen—

	Earliest.	*Latest.*
From the expedition against Rameses II.	1316 B.C.	1226 B.C.
„ „ „ Merepthah	1345 „	1285 „
„ „ „ Rameses III.	1387 „	1307 „

The years between 1316 B.C. and 1307 B.C. would satisfy the conditions of all these computations. And the latest year which any of them will allow, it will be observed, is 1226 B.C., a date earlier than the important catastrophe which deposed the city of Sidon from its primacy in Canaan.

The names used in Homer, which bear directly on the argument, are six;

1. The Dardanian.
2. The Achaian.
3. The Danaan.
4. The Sidonian.
5. The Keteian.
6. The Theban.

And the evidence, which the text yields in connection with each and all of them, converges, positively or negatively, upon the same point. The general effect is, to throw back the Fall of Troy perceptibly, but not very greatly, further than according to the common computation; but by no means to remove it beyond the period over which ancient argument and opinion about it ranged. Some, however, as we have seen, bring the 18th, 19th, and 20th Dynasties slightly lower down than the writers whose figures I have provisionally adopted. Mr. Poole's or Mr. P. Smith's figures would not greatly affect any date to be assigned, on the strength of an argument such as this, to the War or Fall of Troy. There is no method of handling the evidence in detail, as far as I can see, which will not throw the Troica back at least as far as the middle of the Thirteenth Century B.C. But the whole, it must be remembered, depends on the substantial acceptance of the Egyptian computations.

The opinions which were current on this subject before it was capable of illustration by Egyptology, were learnedly discussed and summed up by Clinton[1].

[1] Fasti Hellenici, Introduction, sect. vi. p. 123.

Düntzer[1] observes, that Herodotos in his history adopts the date of 1270 B.C., and by some the event was carried as high as 1353 B.C., while others placed it as low as 1120 B. C. So that the range, which on independent grounds I collect from the Monuments as the true one, is not greatly different from that of the ancient traditions.

One word, before closing, on the extraordinary interest which, if my presentation of this early history be generally correct, attaches to the warlike incidents of the infancy of Greece. *Sic fortis Etruria crevit.* We have examples in modern times, and even in the most recent experience, of great States which owe all their greatness to successful war. The spectacle, offered to a calm review by this process, is a mixed, sometimes a painful one. So, too, it seems, that the early life of the most wonderful people whom the world has ever seen, was largely spent in the use of the strong hand against the foreigner. That people was nursed, and its hardy character was formed, in the continuing stress of danger and difficulty. But the voyage of Argo, the march of the Seven against Cadmeian Thebes, the triumphant attack of the Epigonoi, the enormous and prolonged effort of the War of Troy, the Achaian and so-called Danaan attempts against Egypt, were not wars or expeditions of

[1] Homerische Fragen, p. 122.

simple conquest. They were not waged in order to impose the yoke upon the necks of others. And yet, though varied in time, in magnitude, in local destination, they seem, with some likelihood at least, to present to us a common character. They speak with one voice of one great theme: a steady dedication of nascent force, upon the whole noble in its aim, as well as determined and masculine in its execution. For the end it had in view, during a course of effort sustained through so many generations, was the worthy, nay, the paramount end of establishing, on a firm and lasting basis, the national life, cohesion, and independence.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE EGYPTIAN AND FOREIGN KNOWLEDGE OF HOMER.

I HAVE not entered in this work upon the ground of the broad proposition that the voyage of Odysseus, from the land of the Lotophagoi to the Island of Scheriè inclusive, is in a sphere beyond the limits of the experience of Homer and his nation, and that the Poet, availing himself of the tales, true, garbled, or false, of Phœnician manners, furnished and peopled, with the materials thus obtained, an ideal world, in the mental Geography of which we neither do nor ought to find general correspondence with the more prosaic and common-place geography of experience.

It was the purpose of the former Chapter to deal with those notices of persons and events in the Egyptian monuments which connect themselves with persons and events named by Homer, in such a manner as to tend to the establishment of a direct chronological correspondence. I shall now seek to

supply indirect corroboration of the argument by pointing to other indications in the Poems, of which Egypt was, in all likelihood, the main yet not exclusive source.

In speaking of the Egyptian knowledge of Homer, I am far from intruding to assume that it was original, as is the knowledge of a native, or even of a traveller. That he should have undertaken the voyage, which the very birds perform but once in the year[1], and of the performance of which we never hear, except in buccaneering, or in the rare and exceptional tours of Princes, is so improbable, that we may at once dismiss the supposition. Of all men, in the heroic times, none would be so unlikely as the Bard to become a traveller; were it only because he lived upon the sympathy of his hearers, and the currents of that sympathy could only pass through the forms of a language free and familiar alike to him and them.

But the great Egyptian Empire, which covered the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean, and had the maritime power of the Phœnicians at its service, could not but make efforts to extend itself over the nearer parts at least of that sea which they commanded. The monuments of the country, and the retaliatory

[1] Od. iii. 322.

expedition of which mention has been made, attest the fact; and this extra-Homeric testimony is met by another fact, that we find in the Poems a certain set of ruling or official families, all bearing the marks of foreign origin, all invested with the non-Hellenic title of *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*, and mostly connected with the name of Aiolos and its transmarine associations, and, through this name or otherwise, attached to the worship of Poseidon, the great Southern deity of the Outer world. It is no strained conjecture that these families, which, be it remembered, nowhere appear in Homer as a race or tribe, were the personal representatives of the central Power in the countries which it had bound to itself, by ties necessarily light and frail from the imperfect social organisation and locomotive provisions of the time. This personal representation, probably much resembling the Satrapy of later times, the Pachalic of the Ottomans down to our own day, supplied the only image or token of the existing supremacy in each subordinate region, and the only link between the two. But even so crude a form of connection could not subsist without allowing a certain amount of Egyptian knowledge to filter as it were into the provinces aggregated to the Empire; and this less animated tradition must have been continually refreshed by the opportunities of varied information, the leschè of the

time, which the constant movement of the Phœnician mariners for the purposes of trade could not fail to afford.

Again, in the phrase 'Egyptian knowledge,' I desire to include what Homer may have learned respecting Libuè, of which he speaks in Od. iv. 35, and respecting the Aithiopes. Both of these were in relations with Egypt, during the period of its political ascendency, such as have no parallel in later times; nor could the methods of information, alone open to Homer, supply him with precise geographical distinctions as to these, for him, distant countries. The whole of what he learned respecting the Outer world, whether in the East and South, or in other directions, as it could only reach him, generally speaking, through the Phœnician navigators, so it would primarily associate itself with the Phœnician name. Behind this, at and near the climax of Egyptian power, would stand the name of that great Empire[1], and behind this again, and indistinctly blending with it, the titles of the conterminous countries. There would, without doubt, also be in the Phœnician stories elements derived from Assyria, with which, as well as Egypt, the great race of mariners were constantly in contact[2].

[1] Thus Cadmos was held by some to be Egyptian, by some Phœnician.—Pausan. ix 12. 2.

[2] Herod. i. 1.

I have mentioned above that Professor F. Joseph Lauth, of Munich, in the year 1867, published his valuable tract called *Homer und Ægypten*, in which he traces philologically, and without development of details, numerous notes of connection between the Poems and Egypt, of which the text itself would, for the most part, convey no idea to the ordinary reader. He claims indulgence for his work on the ground that it was a first effort towards establishing this connection. To a certain extent Sir Gardner Wilkinson had touched on the same subject-matter. Ignorant of the language, and unable to interpret for myself the monuments, I have already sought, in the preceding Chapter, and shall again attempt in this one, by a close comparison with the text of Homer, to turn to account the labours of these and other Egyptian scholars.

Without the key afforded by the researches of Egyptology, no reader of the Poems would, perhaps, have been justified in ascribing to the Poet any considerable acquaintance with the facts or the traditions of the Empire and country; and we must have passed by, in despair of explanation, many matters of great interest which we can now partially understand. On the surface, nothing can be more meagre than the Egyptian indications of Homer.

There is a river Aiguptos which is Diipetes, sky-fallen or sky-fed.

There is a predatory invasion of rich fields, a sanguinary defeat, and a great humanity displayed towards the leader of the band discomfited and destroyed (Od. xiv. 249 seqq.).

Then there is the notice of Thebes in the Ninth Iliad (v. 381), which, even standing alone, is of great interest, but which only opens itself out fully when we are able to consider it in the light of the Egyptian records.

And there is the visit of Menelaos (Od. iv. 125) to King Polubos and Queen Alcandrè at Thebes (names of which one if not both are plainly translated), the gifts they gave to their guests, and the herb Nepenthes presented to Helen by Poludamna, the wife of Thon, probably other, and local, sovereigns in Egypt.

Here the Poet takes occasion to commend the medical skill of the people, who, as he says, are of the race of Paieon, and to mention the abundance of drugs which grow in the country (Od. iv. 227–32). For the country, however, as such, he has no name. Aiguptos, with him, is the Nile; and, when Menelaos describes his travels, we find that he visited Kupros, Phoinikè, Libuè, and likewise not Aiguptos, but the Aiguptioi,

Sidonioi, Aithiopes, and Eremboi[1]. We have also the tale of Menelaos and Proteus, of which the scene is the island of Pharos (Od. iv. 355); and which, belonging wholly to the region of the marvellous, throws but little light upon any matter of fact connected with the country.

Next to the reference to Thebes, the most pointed and characteristic feature comprised in these notices is the description of the Egyptians as being universally physicians. The historical testimony of Herodotos, as well as of others[2], illustrates and sustains this statement in a remarkable manner. The materialising tendency of Hamitic civilisation seems to be indicated in the precocious forwardness of the medical art. The mark of this forwardness is what Herodotos treated simply as a peculiarity, namely that each physician dealt with a single disorder and no more (iii. 84). This divarication into specialism, as modern experience teaches us, is a sign of an old, not a young, condition of study and practice. This was not all; for each Egyptian then customarily purged himself for three days monthly (ii. 77). The Prophet Jeremiah (xlvi.

[1] In Od. xvii. 448, *μὴ τάχα πικρὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον ἵκηαι.* Damm supposes the country to be meant. But the two names are combined in the speech of Odusseus, to which this line refers (426, 443), and there we have (427) expressly the phrase *Αἴγ. ποταμός.*

[2] See Sir G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's Herodotus, on ii. 84.

11) says to Egypt, 'In vain shalt thou use many medicines: for thou shalt not be cured.'

Let us now proceed, with the aid we obtain from without, to inquire what further treasures may lie hid under the surface of the Poems.

Long before turning to the testimony of the Egyptian monuments, I had been struck by the predominance of a foreign character and associations in the Homeric Underworld of the Eleventh Odyssey. It lies, not in or near Greece, but in the region of the Outer Geography. The foreign solar goddess Kirkè, and the Kadmeian Seer Teiresias, are the sources from which Odusseus obtains his directions. The recent Hellenic Dead, furnished by the War, are wanderers in the Shades, without fixed doom or occupation, scarcely, as it were, naturalised in their new abode. None of the more ancient Hellenic or Achaian monarchs or warriors appear. And all, or nearly all, the characters, other than those from the Trojan Plain, are to be referred, either by the indirect indications of the Poems, or in consonance with general tradition, to a foreign origin.

1. Minos, the Judge in Aïdes (Od. xi. 568), is of Phœnician extraction (Il. xiv. 34). His kingship here at once raises the presumption that those under him may be of foreign extraction.

2. Ariadnè (321, 322) is his daughter.

3. Orion (vv. 572–5) is mentioned elsewhere in the Poems as beloved by Eōs, the Morning (Od. v. 121–4), as gigantic in form (Od. xi. 310), and as a star (Il. xviii. 486, xxii. 29; Od. v. 274). We have in Homer no Hellenes either unequivocally deified, or raised to the sky: or shown as giants, or as lovers of Eōs; so that all the passages tend to mark him as non-Hellenic or pre-Hellenic. That a mortal should also be a star is a conception found nowhere else in Homer, and alien to his ideas, which separate so broadly between human beings and the Nature-forces. But it seems to bear the stamp of a Chaldæan conception, for Diodorus informs us that (besides the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and the Sun, Moon, and planets) the Chaldæans reckoned twenty-four stars, twelve in the northern, and twelve in the southern, hemisphere, of which the latter were peopled with the spirits of the dead[1]. In the post-Homeric tradition (Apollod. i. 5), Orion appears in Chios and Delos, never west of the Archipelago, and carries also this unequivocal sign that he is the son of Poseidon (ibid.).

4. Tituos (v. 576), both by his vast size, and as the son of Gaia, is at once shown to be pre-Hellenic, though his place is in the Greek Peninsula, as appears both here and in Od. vii. 321–4. He is there also placed under Rhadamanthus, the brother of Minos (Il. xiv.

[1] Diod. Sic. ii. 30, 1.

322), which further helps to mark upon him the character of a foreigner.

5. Tantalos (582) is by tradition the father of the Pelopid line. Homer has suppressed all mention of their descent from him. It is difficult to account for the formal reference to Pelops as the first ancestor and founder (Il. ii. 104), except as implying that in his person the line first appeared upon the soil of Greece. He is mentioned in this passage only. From Pausanias (ii. 22. 4, v. 13. 4) we learn that his tomb was shown at Mount Sipulos in Paphlagonia ; of which Diodoros makes him the king. The great wealth and greed assigned to him universally, and indicated by his punishment, are not in keeping with the earliest Hellenic manners. Benfey (Wurzellexicon, ii. 258) derives the name of Tantalos from ταλάω by reduplication (τάλταλος, the much-enduring). This leads to the view of him as, in truth though not in Homer's mind, a mythical personage, such as probably was Aiolos. The title of anax andrōn, borne by his descendants, has been found to be a note of foreign extraction (Juv. Mundi, pp. 170, 171).

6. Sisuphos (593) is also mentioned in Il. vi. 153 as an Aiolid. This at once brings him into the same class. The resemblance of his character to that of Tantalos will be observed (ὁ κέρδιστος γένετ' ἀνδρῶν, Il. vi. 153):

and also the migration of his descendant Bellerophon to Lukiè, where he settled, seemingly as one already having ties there.

7. Heracles (601) has his nativity, according to the Iliad, in Kadmeian Thebes (xix. 98): he has no sign of Hellenic extraction. See (8).

8. Alcmenè, mother of Heracles, wife of Amphitruon (266) is by tradition the daughter of Electruon, King of Mukenai. He was the son of Perseus, a foreigner and immigrant into Greece (Apollod. ii. 4).

Of the line Od. xi. 631, obelised as spurious, I take no account, because of its palpable incongruity with the one which precedes it and which, if followed by any enumeration, would seem to have required a much fuller one than the mere reference to the names of Theseus and Peirithoos. I therefore proceed with the account of the Women Shades.

9. Turo (v. 235) belongs to the pre-Hellenic period in the Peninsula, and to the Aiolid connection. Cretheus, her husband, is described as an Aiolid (237). Salmoneus, her father, (236) is by tradition a son of Aiolos, the ruler of Thessaly (Apollod. i. 7). And her illegitimate children have Poseidon for their father (241). In her name we have the only indication, which the Poems afford, of the afterwards famous historic name of Tyre.

In Od. i. 120, Antinoos the Suitor describes Turo, together with Alcmenè and Mukenè, as Achaiai. They had all been inhabitants of the Greek Peninsula, and comparing them with Penelopè for purposes of his own, he uses in a popular manner the only name which could have been applied to them in common, and which, on this account, can hardly be held to make them Achaians proper by extraction.

10. Antiopè (260) is described as the daughter of Asopos. But no Hellene is ever placed before us in the Poems as the child of a River or Nature-power. She is also described as the mother of Amphion and Zethos, long anterior to the Hellenic period, and probably even to the Kadmeian colonisation of Thebes. They are the first settlers and fortifiers of that city. But universal tradition assigned to it a foreign origin, and its name, if it did not localise the particular point of association in Egypt, at least associated it with the Empire, of which Thebes was the chief city. Though the name of Kadmos appears in the Poem (Od. v. 333), and became eponymical for the race, no genealogy from Kadmos is given, and following its etymology we must treat it as simply signifying Easterns or foreigners.

11. Megarè (269), as the daughter of Kreion, belongs to the line of Cadmos.

12. Epicastè (271), as the mother of Oidipous, belongs to the same connection.

13. Chloris (281) is mentioned here only. She marries Neleus, an Aiolid. Jasos and Amphion, her progenitors, are pre-Hellenic, and the connection with Minyan Orchomenos is outside the Hellenic circle.

14. Leda (298) is mentioned here only. Her origin is not easy to trace. Tradition makes her the daughter of Thestios, and him either the son of Ares, or the greatgrandson of Aitolos, eponymist of Aitolia. All that can be said is, there is no evidence here of properly Hellenic extraction.

15. Iphimedeia (305) is entirely detached from Hellenic associations, as having been the mother by Poseidon of the giants, who designed to scale the heavens, and would have done it had they emerged from boyhood into fuller age and strength.

For the remaining names we have no clue from the Poems.

16. Phaidrè (321), by tradition daughter of Minos (Apollod. iii. 1); therefore of foreign origin.

17. Procris (321), by tradition daughter of Thespios or Thestios (Apollod. ii. 7, 8). See Leda.

18. Maira (326). According to Eustathios (1688), the daughter of Proitos, who appears in the Legend

of Bellerophon, and is not only pre-Hellenic, but is marked as foreign by his connection with Lukiè, by his having (apparently) come in among the Argives and acquired the throne, and by his possession of an art of either alphabetic or symbolical writing (Il. vi. 157–70).

19. Klumenè (ibid.), wife of Jasos, daughter of Minyas, mother of Atalantè (Apollod. iii. 9. 2). According to Hesiod, the mother of Phaeton by Helios (*Apud* Eustath. p. 1689). The latter of these traditions gives her an Eastern character, and the former a pre-Hellenic origin.

20. Eriphulè (ibid.). Homer refers to, though he does not detail, the legend of the necklace. By tradition she is the daughter of Talaos, who is the grandson of Amuthaon (Apollod. i. 9. 11–13). He is again the son of Cretheus (Od. xi. 258), and therefore directly descended from Aiolos, a foreign ancestor.

Thus it appears, as the result of this minute review of the personages of the Underworld, that in almost every case we are able to detach them entirely from the Hellenic stocks by Homeric or traditional evidence, and that in no instance, not even that of Leda, have they any actual Hellenic stamp. The Underworld was indeed available, as we see, to receive the souls of the Achaian heroes, and the evil-minded Suitors of Penelopè:

but the foreign origin of the conception and embodiment is strongly marked by the absence from it of personages prior to the War and yet properly Hellenic, such, for example, as would have been the spirits of the Seven who warred against Thebes. I pass now from the personages to the dwelling.

The abode of the dead in Homer is called by the names of Aïdes and Erebos. A particular portion of the unseen world, apparently special in its character, is stated to be situate as far below Aïdes as our earth is below heaven (Il. viii. 14–17). It bears the name of Tartaros, and it appears to have been reserved for preterhuman offenders. Hence, it is not even named in the Nekuïa of the Odyssey, inasmuch as the excursion of Odusseus is only to the region of the human dead.

The references in Homer to Tartaros are three. In Il. viii. 13–16, Zeus threatens that he may be disposed to cast down into it any deity who shall presume to contravene his will by assisting either party in the War. It is described as at a great distance: as the deepest abyss beneath the earth, thus showing that it is not the only one, and indeed clearly implying that Aïdes is in some sense subterranean. In Il. xiv. 278, we find that the Titans are declared (1) to be gods, (2) to be ὑποταρτάρεοι, dwelling down in Tartaros, as Liddell and

Scott, *in voc.*, seem to understand it. But the most instructive passage of the three is that of Il. viii. 477–81, where Zeus addresses Herè in mingled taunt and menace :—

> σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω
> χωομένης, οὐδ' εἴ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ' ἵκηαι
> γαίης καὶ πόντοιο, ἵν' Ἰαπετός τε Κρόνος τε
> ἥμενοι οὔτ' αὐγῇς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο
> τέρπονθ' οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι, βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφίς.

'I care not for your rage; no, not even if you pass to the uttermost bound of the earth and sea, where Japetos and Kronos abiding have no refreshment from the rays of the supernal Sun, and the depth of Tartaros lies about them.'

While this confirms the sense of Tartaros as the abode of offending deities, it throws also a most important light on Homer's cosmology.

The common opinion on this subject is that described by Sir George Lewis[1] in the following words :—

'The original idea of the Earth, as we find it in the Homeric Poems, and as it still continued to be entertained, after a lapse of five centuries, in the time of Herodotos, was that it was a solid plane, surmounted

[1] Astronomy of the Ancients, p. 3. Völcker, Homerische Geographie 50. Buchholz, Realien, vol. i. p. 47: 'Eine flache scheibe, auf der die Länder sich rings um das mittelmeer gruppiren.'

and bounded by the heaven, which was a solid vault or hemisphere, with its concavity turned downwards.'

Now this conception is perfectly consistent with the belief in an Aïdes or Erebos below the ground on which we tread, and in a Tartaros again below the Erebos.

But how are we to reconcile it with the phrase *οὐδ' εἴ κε τα νείατα πείραθ' ἵκηαι?* to reach or pass to would be a strange expression, wholly at variance with the Homeric style, if the way to Tartaros were through the solid earth. Völcker, indeed, contends[1] that these extreme bounds are the bounds taken vertically downwards. But this completely alters and deforms the idea of the earth as a plane surface, if it is indeed a solid of a depth made up of two portions, each of which is equal vertically to the height of heaven. Nor does he notice the difficulty of reconciling his doctrine with the word *ἵκηαι*. The truth is that there is not in all Homer a single passage which imports the idea, or indicates the possibility, of our passing through the solid Earth. It is certainly true that he speaks not only of Tartaros but of Aïdes as below the ground; not only, as to the latter, by implication in Il. viii. 16, but also in Il. ix. 568, where Marpessa, the mother of Alcmenè or Cleopatra, invoking the aid of Aï-

[1] Hom. Geogr. pp. 45, 76.

doneus and Persephonè, embraces the Earth for the purpose. But we shall find this a uniform rule with Homer, that, though Tartaros and the abode of the dead are placed under the ground, yet the access to these regions is always along the surface: it is by the surface that we arrive at what is nevertheless supposed to be under our feet. So it is with Odusseus, who in the Eleventh Odyssey is never (I think) stated to descend. So the Shades of the Suitors are indeed said to go down the dark passages (κατ' εὐρώεντα κέλευθα, Od. xxiv. 10), but this is immediately developed in a recital of the places or points towards which they went, the Ocean stream, the Leucadian rock, the Sun-gates; none, or possibly one, of them below the surface. The phrase is used with regard to surface movement, as it is in going down (κατὰ) the Ocean stream (Od. xi. 639). In the decease of the heroes (for instance, Hector, Ἀΐδόσδε βεβήκει) all is consistent with these perfectly distinct indications. So that we have no warrant for distorting the plain sense of the words respecting the passage of Herè to the farthest bounds of earth and sea; and the question that offers itself to us is this, what is the idea of the form of the earth which Homer intends to convey by the two sets of expressions harmonised together; those, namely, in which he places the abode of the dead and of the condemned beneath the ground, and those in

which he describes access to them as effected by a continuous movement upon the surface?

The only two indications, I think, of any piercing of the crust of the Earth are to be found (1) in the reference to the river Titaresios, which is an off-stream from the river Styx (Il. ii. 755): (2) in the terror of Aïdoneus, lest the shell of Earth should split under the conflict of the gods, and the murky region beneath should be disclosed (Il. xx. 61).

In further elucidation of the subject, and before attempting to frame the answer, let me refer to some material particulars connected with the movement of the Sun. As he sank in the West, and reappeared in the East, it is plain that if the Earth were simply a level extension he would have to perform during the night a journey equal, only in the opposite direction, to that which he had accomplished during the day. But no one, to my knowledge, has propounded such an idea. We are not to assume that the Poet had in his mind a completely systematic structure, such as that in reference to which Dante has adjusted the movement of the *Divina Commedia;* nor do I approve, as a rule, of going beyond the text in order to learn what Homer must or may have thought. But in the present instance the text itself, in more than one passage, leads us by the hand.

It is pretty plain that, according to the Poet's conception, the Sun was not engaged, in the interval between Night and Morning, as he was during the day. A remarkable passage in the Odyssey appears almost to justify the assertion that he was stationary; for he was undoubtedly in repose. In the Assembly of the Immortals, reported in the Twelfth Odyssey, he threatens that if the destruction of his Cows remain unavenged, he will go into Aïdes and shine among the departed (v. 383). That is, he will do what he had not before done; he will substitute this function for his earthly career; as appears clearly from the answer of Zeus, 'Prithee, still shine upon the earth among Immortals and mortals, and I will avenge the profanation.' It was, then, day-work only that he had usually to do. It follows, that in the act of setting at even he went, like other gods (Il. ii. 1), to rest; he took his position at a point from which also, or from the neighbourhood of which, he would rise in the morning. This view is strongly confirmed by his declaration respecting his Cows (v. 379). His anxiety about them was grounded on their usefulness: and the use of them was that they afforded him recreation when he went up into heaven, *and again* when he returned from heaven to earth. Homer thus conceived of the two couches of the Sun, in a rough manner as if one; and therefore did not con-

ceive of the earth as a simple plane, which would be an idea in direct contradiction to what he has here given. I am far from meaning that he had in his mind an harmonious world-plan or cosmography: but there is a difference between direct contradiction, and merely consequential or casual inconsistency. It is true, for example, that the Shield of Achilles, which in some sense represents a kosmos, did not exactly conform to either theory: for while its face would not be flat, the opposite points of its rim would be in no way brought together.

The idea, partially conveyed by the convex curvature of the Shield, and more sharply by the proximity of the rising and setting points of the Sun, is further shadowed by the fact that Homer places everything relating to the future state, either in the far West or in the extreme East. The island of Kirkè is strongly identified with the East (Od. xii. 3):—

ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης
οἰκία καὶ χοροί εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο.

And this is so explicit that we must assume it as a fixed point, although Odusseus on his first arrival had lost all the points of the compass:—

οὐ γὰρ τ' ἴδμεν ὅπη ζόφος, οὐδ' ὅπη ἠὼς
οὐδ' ὅπη Ἠέλιος φαεσίμβροτος εἶσ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν,
οὐδ' ὅπη ἀννεῖται.

Upon the common theory there is here a direct conflict between the two passages. The one asserts that the island Aiaia is at the rising of the Sun: the other declares that he could not distinguish, when he had arrived there, between the points of rising and of setting. But are they not harmonised, in the vague manner which alone we can expect, by the doctrine which appears to be distinctly conveyed by the declaration about the kine, namely, that these two are in some sense one and the same scene? There is a point where the darkness and the dawn approach one another, and the Sun, when he rises, is not far from the place of his setting.

While Aïdes or Erebos, to which Aiaia is a kind of portal, assuredly lies in the East, Homer has not less unequivocally placed in the West that Elysian plain, which is promised to Menelaos by Proteus; for it is refreshed by the breezes of Zephuros ever rising from the Ocean streams, that is to say, evidently, of Zephuros at the place of his origin. With Zephuros is associated the word zophos, which signifies darkness, and is in Homer directly associated with the West. Now of Zephuros Euros is the converse wind from the opposite point of heaven. But with Euros there is no analogous and unvarying association of light. On the contrary, we have but four times in the Poems the

epithet εὐρώεις, which is plainly the child of Euros, and which in three of the cases is applied to Aïdes itself (Il. xx. 65; Od. x. 512; xxiii. 322), in the fourth (Od. xxiv. 10) to the track which leads to it. It signifies, like zophos, what is dark and murky. It thus appears that Homer associates the idea of darkness not with one only but with both the extreme points of East and West, and the implication is either that they met together, or that any space lying between them was filled with darkness.

There is in the Odyssey a single yet not insignificant indication of a similar idea of approximation between the distant points of north and south. Kalūpso dwells amid the sea (ὄμφαλος, i. 50) in the cold of the north; for a great fire is found burning on her hearth by Hermes (Od. v. 59) when he visits her. But she is the daughter of Atlas (Od. i. 52), the mountain who upholds the mighty columns that keep the heaven off the earth (ibid. 53, 4). He also is familiar with all the sea-deeps. This Libyan mountain-chain was still known by the name in the historic ages. But the Poems do not supply the means of any fuller development of the relation between North and South.

Resuming, then, I observe that the condition of those in the Elysian Plain is human and anterior to death; yet in substitution for it as a special privilege (Od. iv.

563); so that it is distinctly associated with the dimness of the future state. It seems, therefore, that we are to regard the location of the Plain in the far West, by the side of Ocean, when compared with the dwelling of Aïdoneus in the East, as a note of association between the two. But the approximation is shown as yet more decisive when we find that not only is zophos the west, but what looks thither looks towards Erebos, like the cave of Skūllè (Od. xii. 81):—

πρὸς ζόφον εἰς Ἔρεβος τετραμμένον.

Worthy of notice in reference to the present discussion is likewise the position of the Kimmerians. This northern nation is on the brink of Ocean, and is enveloped in perpetual cloud and mist; evidently out of the line of the Sun's course, and never lighted by him 'either when he rises into heaven, or when he again descends from it to earth' (Od. xi. 14–19): a form of expression which well harmonises, to say the least, with that approximation of the points of rising and setting of which we have now seen such diversified indications. The upshot appears to be that in the view of Homer there is a curvature of the earth's surface, well expressed as to the sea by the phrase εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης (Il. ii. 159), by traversing which we are led onwards, and here we may say downwards, to the brink of

Ocean River. This we cross with Odūsseus (Od. x. 508):—

ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἂν δὴ νηῒ δι' Ὠκεανοῖο περήσῃς.

We then find a narrow containing strip beyond it; and travelling along or over this rim, we enter the world of Shades, set beneath the feet of the living, but yet accessible from, and without quitting, the same surface as that on which we dwell.

Now it would appear that with these cosmological conceptions the Accadian, or most ancient Chaldæan, notion was in rather close correspondence. It is described as follows in the work of M. Lenormant 'La Magie chez les Chaldéens, et les origines Accadiames' (pp. 141 sq.). He notices the declaration of Diodorus (ii. 31), that the Chaldæans have a 'most peculiar' opinion about the figure of the Earth, which they hold to be boat-shaped (σκαφοειδῆ) and hollow; and that they sustain their theory with many and weighty proofs. He observes that the meaning of scaphoeides is the form of a boat reversed; and that the boats of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates were circular. They are so represented on the Nineveh sculptures[1]; and they may still be seen on these rivers in the like form. But he does not notice what we

[1] Rawlinson, note on Herodotus, i. 194.

learn from Colonel Chesney[1], namely, that the side of the boat curves inwards, so that when reversed the figure of it would be like an orange with a slice taken off the top, and then set on its flat side[2]. The Chaldæan conception, thus rudely described, shows a yet nearer approximation (to say the least) to the true doctrine concerning the form of the globe, when we bear in mind that this actually is in shape a flattened sphere, with the vertical diameter (so to speak) the shorter one: just as would be the case in the inverted figure of the boat, supposing it integrated by revolution on its horizontal axis. Now this is in remarkable accordance with what we have found to be the just interpretation of the cosmography of the Poems. M. Lenormant's statement that the figure of a bowl reversed was the one assigned by this theory to the Earth, is therefore somewhat short of the mark.

The surface of the vessel represented is the World which we inhabit. The mouth lies downwards. In the Hollow of the solid dwell the Earth-genii of Tartaros, and the spirits of the dead. Over it extends the compacted mass of Heaven, with its astral bodies. All this seems to have been adopted by Homer. But moreover, the Chaldæan Heaven rested upon columns,

[1] Expedition to the Euphrates and Tigris, vol. i. p. 57; vol. ii. p. 640; and Rawlinson, as before cited.

[2] See Vignette on Title-page.

about which it revolved. These columns were not at the zenith of the heaven, which was immediately over Accad, but at the 'mountain of the East.' And even so Homer sets his heaven upon columns, but places them, with his Atlas, in the South.

Over these three great cosmic regions of the Accadian Chaldees, preside the three great gods Anua, Ea, and Moulge, represented in the Babylonian form of the religion by Anou, Nouah (or Hea), and Bel. This triad corresponds with the arrangement of Homer as between Zeus, Poseidon, and Aïdoneus, and might well have suggested it.

Thus far we speak of knowledge due to Assyrian derivation. In reading Herodotus we repeatedly find notice of corresponding ideas and practices as between Egypt and Assyria[1]. Both were alike probable sources of information through the Phœnicians. But we now pass to what is more directly associated with Egypt.

In that country, the Under-world, and the future state of man, entered more largely into the circle of human ideas than in any other country of the ancient world.

The fourth king of Egypt from Sesostris, in the list given by Herodotos, is Rhampsinitus; who, according to Wilkinson[2], was one of the monarchs called Rameses.

[1] E. g. Herod. vol. i. pp. 193, 198.
[2] In Rawlinson's Herod., Note on ii. 121.

He was the successor of Proteus, the monarch represented by the priests as having received the visit of Menelaos. This king, as they told their tale, descended alive into the region of the dead, the Aïdes of the Greeks, and returned to earth: and, to commemorate the event, a festival was established, which continued to the days of Herodotos[1]. It seems probable that this may have suggested the visit of Odūsseus, when in the Outer world, to the abode of the departed.

Possibly the name Proteus, the marine divinity and Seer in the Odyssey, who supplied Menelaos with information as to the future, may be connected with the naming of that king who was reported under the same appellation to Herodotos. At any rate it is worth observing that it is to the Egyptian sphere that Menelaos has to repair for knowledge about the future; and it is here that he receives the promise of an existence in the Elysian fields.

In the passage of Odūsseus to the Under-world, we hear nothing of the Gates of Aïdes: probably because, though he had entered the region of the dead, he had not been admitted to the Palace of Aïdoneus and Persephonè, from out of which it was that he feared the Gorgon head might appear, and thereupon made his abrupt retreat. I may observe in passing that

[1] Herod. ii. 122.

this head, with the snakes, was apparently an Isiac symbol[1]. But elsewhere in the Poems we not only hear very often of the Gates of Aïdes, which might pass as a figure of speech, without special point, but we even find that one of the epithets applied to the Monarch of the Shades is pulartes, the gate-fastener (Il. viii. 367), and pulartes krateros (Il. xiii. 415; Od. xi. 276). This evidently implies something special in the idea of the Gates of Aïdes. The Poems afford no explanation. But the Gates appear to be an exceedingly marked feature in the Egyptian Ritual, or Book of the Dead, where the Soul of the just has to descend through fifteen of them, guarded by Genii with swords, at each of which he has to prove his good deeds, and his knowledge of divine things[2]. The series ends with the empyrean Gate, through which he passes into bliss. So likewise in the Assyrian Legend of the descent of Ishtar to the abode of the dead, we find not only that the Gates were seven, and not only does she experience great difficulty in obtaining access, but, upon the opening of each Gate in succession, she is gradually deprived of her several ensigns and ornaments, and at length stripped of all her clothing. Moreover, she was detained below. But the god Hea framed and

[1] Deane's Serpent Worship, p. 151.

[2] P. Smith, Ancient History of the East, vol. ix. p. 3.

breathed life into a figure, which was sent as a messenger to Ninkigal (Persephonè) to procure her release. Hereupon Ninkigal sends forth Anunnak, who appears to be the Judge below, for he sits on a golden throne in the temple of Justice. Ishtar is then allowed to go forth, and, as she comes to each Gate in succession, her garments and ornaments are restored one by one[1]. There cannot be a more striking commentary on the pularte*s* of Homer. Moreover, we seem to have here the probable original of Minos, the Judge in the Eleventh Odyssey (v. 568); and with this, what is more remarkable and peculiar, that it is Ninkigal, a Queen, and not a King, who exercises the active functions of government in the Under-world; just as in Homer it is Persephonei*a* alone who acts, or is expected to act as sovereign below (Od. xi. 213, 226, 635), while Aïdone*us* is for the most part a mute figure in the background.

The combination of these two in the dominion of the Under-world, and even their matrimonial relation, is probably copied from the Egyptian doctrine. For such pairing of deities is by no means a matter of course in the Homeric proper, or Olympian system. We have it in Zeus and Herè; but in these alone, and perhaps in these after the model of older beliefs, such as those

[1] Records of the Past, vol. i. pp. 141–9.

of Kronos and Rheia, Okeanos and Tethūs. But there is no other case of marriage in the Olympian and Hellenic scheme, that of Hephaistos and Aphroditè appearing only in the Outer world of the Odyssey. Poseidon, who has the sea for his domain, has no wife in Homer. Later times gave him Amphitritè: but there is no trace in the Poems of this union. Indeed, it is wholly in conflict with them; for, while Poseidon is a large bold and free impersonation, Amphitritè is an elemental conception of the Outer world alone, whose only sign of life is the moaning (agastonos) and weltering of the wave; possibly also its sombre hue (kuanōpis)[1]. The Aïdoneus and Persephonè of Homer are therefore perhaps a copy from the Isis and Osiris of the Egyptian system. For these Herodotos gives us, as the Olympian equivalents, Demeter and Dionusos: but the parallel is at best approximate and partial: for neither of these have any subterranean associations in Homer, though the later tradition establishes a relation, not of identity, but as mother and daughter, between Demeter and Persephonè. It is hardly necessary to observe that the imitation I ascribe to Homer is not disproved by many differences in the mythological personages. The subjectivity of the old mythologies, as well as other causes, made them in-

[1] See Od. xii. 60 and 97.

finitely variable, and both names and attributes shifted like the colours of a kaleidoscope. Traditions were severed or amalgamated, and gods multiplied or reduced in number accordingly, according to the varieties of local and national conception. While the Osiris of Egypt is rendered by Herodotos as Dionusos, the Dionusos of Homer was the son of a mortal mother, with no recognised place in Olūmpos, and even his title to divinity is not wholly free from question.

It is however to be observed, that the moral and retributive element is exceedingly strong in the Egyptian representation of the future state. All souls, on passing into the receptacle of the dead, were judged according to their works. The wicked were condemned to pass through a long course of torments to final annihilation: the just, after many severe trials, and purification by the sharp agency of fire, attained to a personal union with Osiris[1]. This ethical element is certainly much more faint in the Homeric representation. The Greek personages, recently dead, do not appear to have been either rewarded or punished; and Achilles bitterly complains of the sheer want of interest in their life (Od. xi. 489). Minos, the Judge, is only introduced at the opening of the last among the three Scenes of the Under-world, in the first of which the

[1] Smith, Ancient History of the East, vol. ix. p. 3.

women come forward, and in the second the Heroes of the Troïca. Retribution, however, is not wholly expelled, since three personages, Tituos, Tantalos, and Sisuphos, are exhibited in pain, or in irksome labour.

In the Egyptian system, again, the Soul of the dead man had to cross the lake of the Nome or department: on the shore it was stopped, and the judges inquired whether any accusations could be sustained against it. In that case, burial was denied to the remains[1].

According to the idea of Homer, the Spirit of the dead would be delayed in its access to Aïdes, not on moral grounds, but if the body remained without burial. The Spirit of Patroclos complains to Achilles that the Spirits below will not allow him to cross the river, or to pass the gates, because he is still without funeral rites (Il. xxiii. 71–4). In the Nekuïa, close topical description is carefully avoided, but the Spirit of Elpenor is the first of all the ghosts to meet Odūsseus, because his body was not yet buried, and he anxiously prays that this may be done at once (Od. xi. 51–6), apparently in order to clear his onward passage.

On the burning of the body of Patroclos, four horses, two house-dogs, and twelve Trojan youths, were cast into the funeral pyre; at the same time numbers of sheep and oxen were flayed and dressed, and the body

[1] Zincke's Egypt, pp. 185, 6.

was enveloped in the fat (Il. xxiii. 166–75). The burning of the youths was plainly vindictive, and the corpse of Hector was reserved for a darker vengeance: it was meant to be devoured by dogs (Il. xxiii. v. 181). But in respect to the sheep and oxen, there would seem here to have been a real sacrifice to the dead. The same usage is more definitely marked in the injunctions of Kirkè, and in the Under-world of the Eleventh Odyssey. For here we have libation, vow, and supplication, followed by the offering of a wether and a ewe (Od. x. 516 sq.; xi. 23 sq.). Over the slain animals, Aïdes and Persephonè were invoked, but the dead seem to be distinctly included in the rite, for they are allowed, after a time, to approach and drink the blood (Od. xi. 98, 147, 232).

The rite of sacrifice to the dead was practised in Egypt. Bunsen[1] has given an account of the representation taken from the tomb at Gurnah. In this picture, lines of dead princes and princesses sit in two rows, and before each of them is a sacrificial table, with a person sacrificing.

I cannot but think that the sacrifices to the dead in Homer, so far as they are not reparatory and vindictive, must have been derived from the Egyptian traditions. And for this reason; that in the order of ideas the

[1] Egypt, vol. ii. p. 472. (Transl.)

deification of mortals, and the offering of sacrifice to them in their celestial state, would seem to precede any offering of sacrifice to those in the Under-world. But the age of Homer had not yet reached in Greece the preliminary stages of deification and of worship.

That region, the abode of the dead, was called by the Egyptians Ament, or Amenti. Ement was the name of the West; and the names of Europa, Erebos, and Arabia, or Gharb, according to Wilkinson, have the same meaning[1]. The name was apparently derived from the situation of the ancient places of burial, for Memphis and the Delta, relatively to the Nile Valley[2].

Homer refers, as we have seen, his Under-world to both East and West, and he had no reason for borrowing, indeed he could not consistently borrow, the Egyptian name, as there was nothing in Greece corresponding to these western cemeteries.

Let me now pass to consider a number of particulars in which we may trace the notes of Egyptian knowledge or tradition in the mythology of Homer, which are not the less remarkable because of the immense differences in spirit between the two systems.

I am impressed with the belief that the Egyptian

[1] In Rawlinson's Herod., Notes on ii. 44, 122. Lauth, p. 16.
[2] Lauth, Homer und Ægypten, p. 16.

system shows, like the Olympian, the clearest marks of the introduction of heterogeneous elements imported by different races into the country. These elements it never had a Homer to adjust and reduce to some kind of orderly arrangement.

The god Ammon of Egypt, was Ammon-Ra, or Ammon-Sun; and is so designated, says Bunsen[1], on almost all the monuments. He is as it were the god of gods, and is alone called by a particular phrase, denoting Ruler[2]. Thus we have solar worship not only pointed out to us as prevailing, but as first in dignity in Egypt. Besides Ammon we find Ra (the sun) as the god of Heliopolis in the Delta, mentioned in the Scripture[3]. The distinction was local, as Ammon was the god especially of the Thebaid, and Thebes was the centre from which, in the time of and preceding Homer, Egyptian knowledge radiated into the world.

In the Outer-world of the Odyssey, we find Poseidon the most prominent divinity. He is the sire and lord of the Kuklopes on the Libyan coast. He seems to lead in the divine Assembly, which deals with the case of Arès and Hephaistos (Od. viii. 321): he

[1] Another word commonly translated ruler, is, as Dr. Birch informs me, also applied to Osiris. Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 369.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Gen. xlii. 45, under the name of On, and Terem; xliii. 13, under the name of Bethshemesh. Smith's Dict. of the Bible, voc. *On*.

is absent from the first Olympian Assembly, because he has gone off singly to the Aithiopes in the South (Od. i. 19–26), and he again appears as commanding the winds and raising the storm (Od. v. 282) to destroy the raft of Odūsseus. The Phaiakes were of divine descent (Od. vii. 205 ; v. 378), and the family of Alkinoos at least was derived from Poseidon (Od. vii. 56–66). Yet it seems as if on their migration northwards (Od. vi. 4) they had passed out of his exclusive dominion, since there is no act of worship done to him in Scheriè, while there is a distinct act of that kind to Hermes, who is said to correspond with the Egyptian Thoth. He has, however, a fine temple standing in the middle of the Place of Assembly (Od. vi. 266). In this city Athenè resumes her activity, yet respects the connection of her Uncle with the race, and consequently there is no Theophany, but she acts unseen (Od. vi. 328–30), and reserves her apparition until after the arrival in Ithaca. Now these Phaiakes had formerly been the close neighbours of the Kuklopes, by whom they were driven out (Od. vi. 4-6). Assuming their sea-passage to have been probably a short one, I formerly concluded that both had inhabited the south-eastern coast of Italy. But Mr. Brown[1], soon after, established to my satisfaction the *habitat* of the Kuklopes, and there-

[1] Poseidon, by Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A. London, 1872.

fore of the Phaiakes also, on the coast of Africa. To all these Homeric notes of connection between Africa and the god, I add the very marked one that not only he alone of the gods has dark hair, but that 'the dark haired' is an epithet, and even a title, by which he is known (Il. xiii. 563; xiv. 390; xv. 174, 201). And in conformity with this personal characteristic, the bulls solemnly sacrificed to him by Nestor, his descendant, at Pulos, are black all over (pammelanes, Od. iii. 6). The blackness of the animals is expressly associated with the blackness of the god—

ταύρους παμμέλανας Ἐνοσίχθονι Κυανοχαίτῃ.

Next, we have in Herodotos (ii. 50), a most important passage, referring specially not merely to the cult, but specially to the name, of Poseidon. The Egyptians say that they do not know the Greek names of the gods (which Hahn has shown[1] to have come in part from the Pelasgians), except that of Poseidon. About this deity they learned from the Libues: for no people have from the first known the *name* of Poseidon except the Libues; and they have at all times worshipped him.

Nothing can be more explicit. Still, this was a late tradition; and the standing misapprehensions as

[1] In his Albanesische Studien, Jena, 1854.

to the geographical lines of the Voyage of Odūsseus, due originally, I apprehend, to the greedy appropriations of the Latin Poets, have prevented the recognition of the full force of the Homeric evidence respecting Poseidon. A very important piece of information from the treatise of Professor Lauth, if his rendering be right [1], is that, according to the triumphal inscription of Merepthah, Badide was the lord (*der grosse*) of the Libues and Maurmeri (Marmaris). This name he identifies with Poseidon, and quotes in support of his view the testimony of Tzetzes [2], (as late, however, as the twelfth century), that τὸ Μωσηλὲ made Poseidon known to the Egyptian people. Mosēle he conceives to be the Moscaschale of the inscription of Rameses III, where he is a hero (*heldensprössling*) of the Maskawascha, or Libyan Maxues of Herodotos. According to Chabas, Dr. Birch, and other high authorities, he was the son of Kapour, who led the enemies of Egypt [3]. With reference to the exchange of *d* in Badide for *s* in Poseidon, I would observe that the Doric name of the god was Potidan. Upon the whole, I think that not only the Libyan origin of Poseidon is sufficiently established, but likewise Homer's acquaintance with that origin.

[1] Chabas does not recognise his name in the inscription.
[2] Chil. x. hist. 259. [3] Chabas, Études, pp. 237, 40.

So long as the scene of the Voyage of Odūsseus is in the East, as at Aiaiè and Thrinakiè, Poseidon is withdrawn from view. The Sun becomes the prominent personage. He is not, indeed, supreme; for he has to appeal to Zeus and the Assembly in the matter of his kine (Od. xii. 377); but neither had Zeus actually disappeared from the sphere in which Poseidon was brought forward (Od. ix. 479, 550–5). Zeus seems here to represent what remained of the old monotheistic idea. It appears, however, as if the relative prominence given to the Sun was derived from the ideas of Egypt, as that country was in the mind of Homer associated with the East. It is perhaps by Egyptian traditions that we may also best account for his distinct impersonation and action in the legend of Arès and Hephaistos (Od. viii. 270).

As Pan was one of the younger gods in the Hellenic thearchy, we do not at first feel surprise at the fact that there is no mention of him in Homer. But we learn from Herodotos that he was in Egypt one of the oldest deities[1]. Probably then he had his place in the Egyptian system before, and at the time of Homer. So that it is likely he was known to the Poet.

Considering the connection of the two mythologies, it would be interesting to know why, if he was probably

[1] Herod. ii. 145, 146.

known to Homer, there is no notice of him in the Poems. This can be answered by conjecture only: but even in conjecture some things are reasonable, and some things the reverse. We see that Homer has exhibited much repugnance to the sensual deity of Aphroditè, and gives her no place among his own people. We see also that Pan, who was represented under the form or with the head of the goat, was a conception exhibiting sensuality of that brutal order, of which there is not a trace in the Poems. It seems, then, by no means unlikely that Pan may have been shut out for the same praiseworthy reasons as the foul and degrading ideas which he represented.

The Horos of the Egyptian system was taken by the later Greeks to be their Apollo. He is sometimes represented with the head of a hawk in lieu of the human head: sometimes under the figure of a hawk entire[1]. Greek inscriptions at Ombos, and in Kos, verify this identification with Apollo[2]. He is in the Egyptian system related to the light by his brilliancy, as his eyes are called the sun and moon; but he is not the Sun himself.

Now, it is thus that we find the Homeric Apollo conceived. He is not the Sun, for the Sun has a separate personality, faint in the Iliad, more vivid in the Odyssey.

[1] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 435. (Transl.) [2] Ibid.

But he is perhaps related to the element of light by his name, Phoibos. The Homeric system could not degrade him by representing him with a head or figure lower than the human. But the κίρκος, or falcon, swiftest of birds (Il. xxii. 139–42), is (Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος, Od. xv. 525) the rapid messenger of Apollo[1].

The Sun in Homer has the epithet Huperion, which it has been found very difficult to explain. Now this epithet is patronymic in its form: and it may perhaps indicate a relation similar to that of Horos to Osiris, both of whom were solar in their character. See inf. p. 257. That the word has a southern origin is further shown by its application to the country of the Kuklopes, who with the Phaiakes before their expulsion, dwelt in 'spacious Hupereiè' (Od. vi. 4), or Africa.

The Sun-god Ra[2] is also commonly represented with the hawk's head. We must, I think, from the action of Apollo in the Plague of the First Iliad, incline to suppose that in some countries out of Greece, and probably in Troas, the growing approximation of the figures of Apollo and the Sun had already become identity.

Although, however, it may be that the Egyptian Horos is reproduced in the Homeric Apollo, it will

[1] See also the doubtful passage, Il. xv. 239.

[2] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 387. (Transl.)

not follow that this great deity has no other or broader groundwork. We shall see, indeed, some reason to suppose farther on, that he had some features in Greece, at least in Ithaca, derived from the Osiris of Egypt.

In the opinion of Dr. Schliemann, the Homeric epithets *βοῶπις* and *γλαυκῶπις* respectively mean ox-eyed and owl-eyed, and are the Hellenic or Homeric modifications, or survivals, of older mythologies, supposed to have represented Herè and Athenè, to whom these epithets severally belong, the one as an ox or with the ox-head, the other as an owl or with the owl's head.

If we are to regard Athenè as representing the Neith of Egypt, the chief special note of that goddess, on which we can establish a connection with the Homeric conception, is found in the original signification of the name. This is said to be, 'I came from myself[1].' Such a name exhibits not an identity but a very suggestive resemblance with the reference in the Iliad, where Zeus is made to declare that he was her sole parent (Il. v. 880). But I have not learned that there is any special relation between the Neith of Egypt and the owl.

In the case of Herè, there is some evidence from Egypt which tends to support Dr. Schliemann's opinion.

[1] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 385. (Transl.) Sir G. Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's Herod., ii. 289. Essay iii. on Book II.

The goddess Isis, mated with Osiris, is represented with the cow's head on some of the Egyptian monuments[1]. She is identified by Herodotos with Demeter: but Demeter and Herè are very near, and Herè seems in Homer to be the Hellenic form which had in a great degree extruded Demeter from many of her traditions, and relegated her into the insignificance which belongs to her in the Poems. The epithet böopis seems therefore possibly to indicate a mode of representing Herè which had been derived from Egypt, and which Hellenism refined.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the Egyptian representation was not with the eyes, but with the full countenance and head, of the ox or cow; and further, that the Homeric epithet is not confined to Herè, but is applied to Klumenè, one of the attendants of Helen (Il. iii. 144), and to Philomedousa, wife of Areithoos (Il. vii. 10). It is likewise given to Haliè, one of the Nereid Nymphs (Il. xviii. 40). The inference, probable though not demonstrative, would seem to be that in Homer's time the epithet had come to bear its later and generalised sense, and that the recollection of the cow had worn away.

There is nothing in the Poems on which to found a theory of symbolical representation with reference

[1] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 420. (Transl.)

to Zeus. And here we fall upon a remarkable resemblance to the Egyptian mythology in its oldest shape. 'The original form of Ammon,' says Bunsen, 'is that of a man. His type is the human form, in contrast to Kneph, the ram-headed god[1].' Ammon was the supreme god of the system at the Theban epoch, though he seems in later times to have been confounded with Kneph, and represented under the same symbol. It is the Zeus of the old Olympian system, who still has marks of a superiority, not in degree only, but in kind, to the other gods, and who in that respect resembles the Ammon of the Thebaid. It is therefore noteworthy when we find each of them raised, as it were, above the level of that region, in which symbolical association with animals prevails.

With respect, however, to the traces which have now been noticed in Homer of a symbolic system, I have two remarks to offer. One is that they do not afford evidence of Egyptian knowledge, on his part, equal in force to that supplied by other kinds of indication in the Poems. For reasons elsewhere pointed out, it may be that the Egyptian name covers in the early traditions of Greece much that was really due to Phœnicia and to other foreign parts; yet it is almost a certainty that, during the maritime predominance of the Egyptian

[1] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 369. (Transl.)

Empire, personages, influences, and traditions belonging to Egypt must have found their way into Greece. In various passages of Pausanias, we find evidence that the worship of Isis had percolated at several points into the Greek Peninsula. Among others, he mentions a temple in Phokis, sacred beyond all the rest; it is ἁγιώτατον (sc. τῶν ἱερῶν) ὅποσα Ἕλληνες θεῷ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ πεποιήνται[1]. It seems likely that these temples may have been of primitive foundation: at least I do not see in which of the historic periods this worship could easily have been introduced. The testimony of Herodotos to the extensive derivation of the Hellenic gods from Egypt tells powerfully in the same direction. It may be, therefore, that the subtle vestiges of the alien system of animal worship, such as we find them in Homer, are given us in the very state, in which he found them already existing among his countrymen. At the same time, the art and delicacy of the modifications by which he refines, without wholly effacing its substance, the relation of the deity to the animal, are just what we should have expected from him, and may almost be thought to carry self-evidence of his handiwork.

The peculiar sanctity of the Cows of the Sun in Od. xii. is, however, shown to us with such elaborate development, that it cannot, I think, be at all under-

[1] Paus. x. 32. 9.

stood or accounted for, except as suggested by knowledge which Homer himself had personally obtained. With these cows there were sheep, belonging in like manner to Eelios, though none of these were eaten by the company of Odūsseus (Od. xii. 262–6, 322). These sheep we may properly connect with the ram of Ammon, who, it will be remembered, is often Ammon-Ra, the Sun-Ammon: Ra being, as Wilkinson says, 'the Father of many deities, and combined with others of the 1st, 2nd, and even 3rd order[1].' The Ra traditions pervaded the Egyptian system; the disc of the Sun and the crescent of the Moon were placed on the heads of other gods; and figures in supplication were represented with the emblem near them[2].

The case of the Cows in a much more pointed manner indicates Egyptian derivation (Od. xii. 262, 343). Nothing can be more tremendous than the penalty of destruction inflicted upon men simply for having fed upon these Cows rather than starve. The explanation afforded by Egyptian usages is, however, complete. We learn that it was customary only to feed upon oxen, under severe limitations; that is, when they had been judged pure according to a variety of marks[3] which were carefully ascertained. For all other oxen,

[1] In Rawlinson's Herod., Essay iii., on Book II. [2] Ibid.
[3] Herod. ii. 38, and Rawlinson's note.

a mode of burial was provided, and the animal was generally sacred to Apis[1]. But the cow was sacred in a much higher degree, and was never eaten: so that the inhabitants of Marea and Apis, towns bordering upon Libuè, inquiring, at the shrine of Ammon, whether they, as Libyans, might not be allowed cow-beef, were required by the oracle to conform to the Egyptian usage[2]. Herodotos indeed informs us that the Libyans, as far westward as the Tritonian lake, abstained from the use of cows' flesh, like the Egyptians (iv. 186). Neither did they rear swine; and it is observable that on the Libyan coast, that is to say, in the countries of the Lotophagoi and the Kuklopes, Homer makes no mention of swine. 'The animal was sacred,' says Herodotos, 'to Isis;' whom, Wilkinson tells us, he has here confounded with Athor. The traditions of the two deities intermingle; and both under certain circumstances carry the cow's head[3]. The pervasiveness of the idea of Sun-worship in Egypt supplies the link, which Herodotos does not furnish by the mere names of these goddesses; and gives to Eelios his *locus standi*, so to speak, as a complainant in the Twelfth Odyssey.

It may not be unsuitable to refer in this place to further indications of foreign knowledge on the part

[1] Herod. ii. 41. 38. [2] Ibid. 18. [3] Wilkinson, on Herod. ii. 40.

of Homer, which are afforded by the usages as to food in the sphere of the Outer Geography.

In the Greek entertainments of Homer, beef is the staple article of food. Mutton, pork, and goat's flesh are in the second rank. Birds and fish are in no esteem, and are eaten only when nothing else can be had (Od. xii. 331). In the Outer sphere of the Odyssey, the dietary changes. In the Pylian feast of the Third Odyssey, eighty-one oxen were supplied, and we hear of no other meat (Od. iii. 7). But at the banquet given by Alkinoos in Scherië, the supply consists of twelve sheep, eight hogs, and only two oxen (Od. viii. 59). And the piece selected by Odūsseus, by way of special honour, for the bard is a part of the chine, not as in the Iliad, with Ajax, of an ox, but of a hog. It is not unlikely that Homer based this use of the three kinds of food among the Phaiakes on what he may have known or seen of the Phœnician mariners, who in their free movements over the world would but little represent specialities of diet, highly inconvenient under conditions of life like theirs. But in the Outer World proper, we hear no more of beef. The land of the Kuklōpes has goats and sheep exclusively. When Kalūpso feeds Odūsseus in Ogugië with human viands, and when she stocks his vessel, there is no specification of particular kinds, such as is given elsewhere

(Od. vi. 196, 267). The same happens at the table of Kirkè (x. 372, 468, xii. 19). But when he sails for Aïdes, she supplies him with a ram and an ewe. These are to be, and accordingly are in the Eleventh Book (xi. 30, 45), sacrificed to the dead, together with a promise to offer on his return to Ithaca a sheep to Teiresias individually, and to the dead a choice heifer. This is a clear indication that no heifers were used for food in the region where he then was, or Kirkè would surely have supplied him with one, as she did with sheep.

There are some particulars connected with Egypt which serve to explain these representations. Although swine and their herdsmen were deemed unclean, there was a very particular and solemn injunction for the sacrifice of two swine to Osiris (or Dionusos) and to the Moon, by every Egyptian. So binding was this injunction, that (in the case of the Moon) the poor, who could not supply the animals, offered the figures of swine made of dough[1]. This sacrifice took place at 'the full moon;' but apparently it was at some full moon in particular.

That Homer had knowledge of this institution is plain: for in Ithaca we find a feast was kept, of which the special note seems to have been that the swine-

[1] Herod. ii. 47. 8.

herd drove three fat hogs down to the town for sacrifice (Od. xx. 156, 162). This was indeed a feast sacred to Apollo. But as, according to Herodotos, it was the Moon which was associated with Dionusos (i. e. Osiris) in this particular rite, although he identifies Isis generally with Demeter, it is probable that the Greek Apollo appropriated some at least of the traditions belonging to Osiris. What is certain from the text is that Homer was aware of some special use of swine in religious ceremonial; and this does not seem to have been an Hellenic usage. It is then most likely that, knowing of an Egyptian custom, he indicated it in his descriptions of his Outer World, after the manner I have above described: and that the swine sacrifices in Ithaca were a note of foreign settlement there.

But we have also seen certain indications in the Homeric Outer World, which have the appearance of being derived from a region where the flesh of sheep was more in use than that of cattle. Now this also would appear to have been characteristic of Egypt in the historic times. Herodotos has a passage in which he describes the Egyptians as abstaining from the use of flesh generally, with the exception of mutton [1]. On the other hand, in describing the seven castes or classes of the Egyptians, he names cowherds (*βούκολοι*), and

[1] Herod. ii. 45.

swineherds (συβῶται, ii. 164), but not shepherds. Now Plato, in the Timaios, reports a story told to Solon in Egypt, which gives six classes, and among them that of nomeis, which includes shepherds as well as herdsmen[1]. Diodoros[2] also gives three classes, of whom nomeis are one, again including shepherds. But the declaration in Herod. ii. 45, as to the permission to slay and therefore feed on sheep, and on oxen declared pure, is so express as to make it certain that Herodotos, if he did not include shepherds in the word boucoloi[3], has in this instance committed an oversight. His affirmative statement as to the use of mutton is rendered especially definite by his observing that it did not extend to the inhabitants of the nome of Thebes, or to those who worshipped the Theban Zeus, namely, Amun-Ra[4]. All these ate goat's flesh: from which, again, the inhabitants of the Mendesian nome abstained, as Pan was held in great honour there, and as he was associated symbolically with the form of the goat.

We must not indeed forget that we find written in the Book of Genesis[5], that every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians; and Joseph enjoined his brethren to assure the King that they were herdsmen from their youth up. The statement is totally different from the

[1] Tim. iii. 24. Steph. [2] Diod. i. 74. [3] Herod. ii. 42.
[4] Ibid. 46. [5] Gen. xlvi. 31–4.

testimony of the authors we have quoted. But this circumstance imports no discredit to either. The accounts refer to periods very widely separated. I do not suppose that the period of Joseph's visit is, as yet, by any general consent absolutely assigned to any fixed date of Egyptian history as exhibited by the monuments. But it is probably safe under the circumstances to assume that the sojourn of Joseph must have been, if not, as some think, under the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, yet in close proximity to their era. The struggle between these Nomads and Egypt appears to have been prolonged and formidable. All through that period, and as long as the remembrance of it continued to be lively in the popular mind, there was therefore a reason of a temporary character for hostility to the profession of Shepherds, and for aversion to the animal with which it was concerned, such as, not being founded on a permanent principle, would naturally pass away. The date of the Troica and of Homer was, it is pretty plain, after the Exodus, and therefore very long after the entry of the Israelites into Egypt, with which event the declaration in Genesis is associated. There is, I understand, a question, whether the Hebrew is rightly translated in the passage I have been considering. Savile (on the Truth of the Bible, p. 239) says it might be rendered 'every consecrated goat is

an idol, or object of worship with the Egyptians.' The Septuagint corresponds with the Authorised Version.

With reference to what has been said of Ithaca, I may observe that the Poems supply many indications of foreign settlement in the island. Odūsseus is the only Greek who in either Poem is represented to us as capable of producing a true work of art; and this title is certainly due to the bedstead which he wrought (Od. xxiii. 184–204), and inlaid with gold, silver, and ivory. Next, we find in Ithaca the remarkable circumstance that one of the prominent men of the island, remarkable for his wide knowledge, was named Aiguptios[1]. He led in the Assembly of Book II, bears the title of heros, and had a son among the Suitors of Penelopè. We have also here the harbour of Phorcūs, the old man of the sea (Od. xiii. 96, 345); the legendary Father of Thoösa, who bore Poluphemos to Poseidon (i. 70–3). This local appellation is indeed the most direct indication of foreign settlement at any particular point in Greece, which Homer has anywhere afforded us: and both the situation of Ithaca, and its beautiful and singularly sheltered harbour rendered it an admirable site for a factory or depôt in the early days of navigation. There is but one Phorcūs intro-

[1] Od. ii. 18.

duced to us in the Poems, and he is leader of the Phrygians, a stock who competed with the Egyptians for ethnical seniority[1]. I may add, without entering into arguments which would occupy some space, that I think the swine-herd Eumaios may be shown, from a variety of marks which he bears, to have belonged, if not to Egypt, yet to its near vicinity.

Passing now to minor resemblances, it may be worth while to notice, among these, that on the Shield the Hephaistos of Homer represents the Moon by the Sun, not in the form of a smaller disc, but of a crescent. So, at least, I have undertaken to render the term πλήθουσαν (Il. xviii. 484); with what amount of assent I do not know. 'This was the mode,' says Wilkinson, 'adopted in Egypt, when the emblems of Sun and Moon were placed over the heads of deities[2].' They were thus clearly and characteristically distinguished.

Again, I have observed that the physicians, or healers, of the Greek camp, Podalirios and Machaon, enjoy the patronymic Asklepiades (Il. iv. 204, xi. 613, xiv. 2); from which it follows, according to Homeric rule, that Asklepios was not, in Homer's mind, properly a god. Now Wilkinson tells us that the Egyptian

[1] Paus. i. 14. 2. p. 34.
[2] Essay iii. on Book II. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.

Asklepios[1], though the son of Pthah, was not one of the twelve gods of the second order, not, therefore, one of the twenty whom, there is some reason for thinking, Homer supposed to make up the Egyptian thearchy.

A very peculiar conception of Homer is his severance of the component elements of the human being after death. In the opening passage of the Iliad (i. 4) the shade or spirit passes to the Under-world, but the man himself (autos) remains a prey to dogs and birds of prey. More pointed is the division in the Heracles of the Eleventh Odyssey, where the Shade (eidolon) is seen below, but the man or person (autos) is enjoying himself among the Immortals. Some light seems to be thrown upon this by the Book of the Dead, where a picture represents the corpse of the dead man marching, with his Soul behind it offering up prayers to the Sun-god[2]. Again, the word eidolon seems to be associated, if not identified with Psuchè by Il. xxiii. 104. Some similar severance Lauth finds in one of the speeches of the departed in the Book of the Dead[3].

The Aiolid houses of Homer, and some others, have the honour of a divine descent; often stated expressly

[1] Essay on Book ii. of Herod. Rawlinson's Herod. ii. 293.
[2] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 26. (Transl.) [3] Lauth, p. 23.

as in the case of Dardanos, or traceable piecemeal, perhaps, in other cases, from the first human ancestor. It is also the practice of the Poet to indicate the connection between sovereignty and deity in a very marked manner by the two epithets,—

1. Diotrephes,
2. Diogenes.

His use of the word ἀμύμων tends also to connect it very closely, if not invariably, with some special relation to Deity. In Il. ii. 640, sovereigns, as a class, seem to be called Diotrephees aizeoi. It is notable that, as Homer goes further back, he assumes a closer connection of man with Deity. The divine names of certain objects, it seems to be agreed, are the older names[1]. So while Diotrephes is limited as above in the Hellenic or homeward zone, in the case of the Phaiakes, who belong to the Outer world, we have it applied to the whole race (Od. v. 378). Again, amumon is an epithet of individuals in Greece; but it is applied (Il. i. 423) to the Aithiopes collectively.

It may not be inadmissible to treat as a poetical trope this idea of kings as god-born or god-reared. But the Egyptian monuments give a much greater

[1] I am tempted, however, to suggest that this distinction of a divine and a human nomenclature may have had some relation to a distinction like that of the hieratic and demotic speech in Egypt mentioned by Herodotos.

solidity to the conception. Herodotos has supplied an indication of it in his report that, before the human sovereigns of Egypt, the gods were kings there, down to Horos, the son of Osiris (ii. 144). Manetho, in Eusebius, gives us a series of dynasties of gods before mortals began to reign; and the Turin papyrus has supplied documentary evidence to the same effect[1]. Thus, the order of Kings, following and taking up the work of the order of gods, afforded a most natural basis for the ascription to them of divine origin. Yet more evident is this, when we find that the divine title Ra (the Sun) was incorporated for a length of time in the personal names of the Pharaohs or Egyptian Sovereigns.

Upon the exact number of the Olympian gods Homer has not committed himself, for the mythology he represents to us is one not fully formed, but in the course of formation. I have endeavoured, however, to show that the personages entitled to a seat in the select or smaller Assembly of Olūmpos, corresponding with the Boulè of human polities, closely approximate in number to twenty. And a plain indication on this subject is supplied by the passage (Il. xviii. 373) in which Hephaistos is represented as having constructed

[1] Bunsen's Egypt, vol. i. p. 361, *seqq.* (Transl.)

twenty seats for the use of the Immortals on the Mountain.

The Egyptian gods were constituted, according to Herodotos, in three orders, which differed in point of seniority. The first order consisted of eight, the second of twelve; the third order was derivative, possibly ambiguous, its members being children of or proceeding from the second, and their number not being limited. If the tradition which Herodotos received from the Egyptian priests was as old as Homer, then it would appear probable that the number of Twenty, which he has indicated for the deities of Olūmpos, and which represents the sum of the two first Egyptian orders, was copied from the theistic system of that country.

I do not know whether I am justified by the general sense of scholars in connecting the numerical speculations of Plato in the Timaios, and also in the Philebos, with an Egyptian source. This connection, however, appears to be more than probable. His travelling in Egypt is an accepted fact of a great life obscurely known[1]. Egyptian archæology has disclosed that attention to geometrical and arithmetical study in Egypt, which the single fact of the inundations of the Nile went far to impose as matter of necessity.

[1] Grote's Plato, vol. i. p. 121.

The supreme rank of this description of knowledge has been indicated by Aischulos in the Prometheus,

> *καὶ μὴν ἀριθμὸν ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων*
> *ἐξεῦρον αὐτοῖς* [1].

And this passage of itself seems to give the discovery a pre-Hellenic and foreign stamp. Mr. Jowett points out some most important associations, in which Number was placed by the ancients [2]. In conjunction with other indications it is remarkable that the only narrative, and the only phrase (*πεμπάσσεται* Od. iv. 412) describing actual computation in the Poems should be in the case of Proteus, a preternatural and also an Egyptian personage.

Without at all professing to furnish a complete account of the work, I will now give a list of some cases in which Professor Lauth in his *Homer und Ægypten* derives from Egyptian sources the terms used by the Poet.

Huperion, the epithet of Eelios, from Horos, the 'one above' (*der obere*), as the representative and follower of the Supreme God. In the number 350 (=7 × 50) of the cows and the sheep (Od. xii. 128), he traces the days of the lunar year, and he compares the word poëa,

[1] Prom. Vinct. 457.

[2] Jowett's Plato, vol. iii. p. 588, Introduction to Timaios.

there used for the sheep, with the Coptic pohi of the same meaning. He points, also, to the frequent recurrence of the number seven in the Egyptian combinations.

With the Elusion pedion of Homer's West he compares the field Aalu with its spirits of light in the East. Homer, I observe, would thus appear to have exchanged the positions both of the Elysian plain and the mouth of Aïdes (p. 5).

He shows reasons for ascribing considerable geographical knowledge to the Egyptians (p. 7); and for supposing there were Aithiopes of Arabia, while he supposes that the visit of Poseidon (Od. i. 22) to that people was meant to imply his passing to the Red Sea from the Mediterranean.

The Hauvanu among the conquered peoples of King Sanch-ke-ra, of the Eleventh Dynasty, he takes to be Hellenes (p. 9). I do not, however, suppose that name can safely be thrown back to a period over 2,000 years, or, according to Lauth, 2,600 years B.C.

In the name Punt, applied to Arabia in the Book of the Dead, and now represented by Pun in the Dinka language, he finds the base of Pœnus, and Phoinikeos (p. 10). Phoinix, the bird, and Phoinix, the palm, he finds in the Egyptian words *benne* and *bennu*. The Sidon of Homer is Ziduna, and Tyre is Zar; but this name is not Homeric, unless as far as it appears in

Turo (Od. xi.). With the Hauvanu, the people over or 'behind the sea,' he connects Javan and the Iaones (p. 12). The name Hauvanu continued to be the standing name for Greeks upon the later monuments. It may be well to bear in mind that Attica, and Attica alone, is in the Poems the seat of the Iaones, and that it was a strong legendary connection with Egyptian immigration or dominion.

He understands the names Tennu, Tanau, and Danj, referring to a foreign people, to correspond with the Greek Danaoi; and observes that, according to Manetho, Armaïs, the brother of Sethosis, himself called Aiguptos, was called Danaos (pp. 12, 13). In the former he sees a domestic name; in the latter, one connected with a foreign race or site. Of the name Akaiuscha I have already spoken; he well compares its termination with Ntariwusch=Dareios. Scheriè is akin to chersos, cherros, and means the shore or land as distinguished from the sea (p. 14). The Greek Aïdes, the 'unseen' (which he places in the West), he compares with *amun*, meaning the hidden, according to Manetho, which he takes to be the root of Amenti.

The lotos of the Lotophagoi, which in the historic times continued to distinguish a portion of the Libyan coast, he derives from the Egyptian *rôt*, a herb;

observing that the Baschmur dialect substituted *l* for *r*, and that this usage may still be found in the Delta (p. 16).

In the Book of the Dead, a picture represents an Island, not inhabited by the departed spirits, with the inscription 'The God of it is Ra'; obviously the basis of the Homeric Thrinakiè, occupied by his cows and flocks, with the attendant Nymphs who were his offspring (Od. xii. 127–36). The dimension of seven ells, assigned to the Shades, he regards, with less high probability I think, as supplying the suggestion of Homer's giant races (p. 19). Lamos of Laistrugoniè he supposes to come from the Egyptian, and to mean 'all-eater' (p. 20). The Colchiones, under the name *Kalcha*, bring tributes of linen to Egypt, as do the *Schardana;* and Herodotos says that the Colchian linen is called Sardonic (Sardinian) by the Greeks (Herod. ii. 105). Lauth also connects the name of *Kirkè* with Colchoi (pp. 20, 1). Teiresias he derives from *τέρας*, Egypt being the wonderland; and he takes the promise of a black sheep for sacrifice to him, and of a ram and sheep, both black for Persephonè (Od. x. 527) as southern associations. The crossing of the Nile on the way to Amenti is the crossing of Okeanos (Od. x. 508). No light has as yet to my knowledge been thrown on the poplars and willows (Od. x. 510) of the Under-

world, except in so far that both Osiris and Isis appear to have had associations with trees, not common in Egypt[1]. 'Under-world' is his interpretation of *Acheru*, which corresponds with the Acheron of Homer (p. 23). The name of Charon, which does not occur in Homer, but is declared by Diodoros to be Egyptian, appears in Caro[2], the conductor. Lethè he finds in the town of Sechem, meaning 'know-not,' which the Greeks translate by Letopolis. *Per-schu* in Egyptian is the flash of light, which I may observe agrees with Persè, the mother of Kirkè, the Sun being the father. Gorgo, our author thinks, may be referred to *garhu*, the night (p. 23). The *seirenes* he refers to *schi-rennet; rennet* stands for virgin. He takes *Thrinakiè* not to be Sicily, but to be the island called in the monuments the island of the Sun, between the Planctai and the Scullè-Charubdis passage: rendering *T-hri-náchiu* as 'the between-prongs,' i.e., rocks. Rhadamanthus is *Ret-amenti*, the man of Amenti. This has the air of an unexceptionable derivation; but Rhadamanthus has (Od. vii. 323) the epithet ξανθὸς, auburn-haired, which is nowhere else, I think, given to an Eastern or

[1] Bötticher, Baumcultus der Hellenen, p. 498.

[2] Rendered by Lauth 'Fuhrmann, Färche'; apparently suggesting an etymological correspondence with the latter word, which, though not found in the ordinary German, is, as I learn from Dr. Birch, said to be in use in German Switzerland.

Southern personage; and though *Aalu* (p. 27) lay to the East of Memphis, I hold fast by the localisation of Elysium in the West, determined by the fanning of the new-born Zephyrs (Od. iv. 567).

Briareus is, according to Lauth, from the Egyptian, and Aigaion a translation of it. His reasoning on this passage again raises the question whether in those three passages[1] of Homer where a divine and a human name are severally specified for the same object, the hieratic speech of Egypt can be meant by the first, and the demotic by the second.

For the equivalent of Teucri we have *Tekharu;* but the word is not in Homer, except as the name of the spurious brother of the Telamonian Aias. Driksu= Thrakes and Makedan=Makedōn. *Kekenu* seems to be Kikones, and Maron (the priest of Apollo, whose name Lauth connects with that of Baal,) may be the name *Marina,* great lord (p. 33). Aiguptos renders Aquipto, the mid-point of earth, a title found in one of the inscriptions (p. 35); and *P-aa-ro,* the island at the mouth, represents Pharos (p. 36). The famous Greek name Thebai has been found in *Ta-vabu,* land of the sceptre. With Paieon is compared *pa-iâvu,* 'the man for illnesses.'

The King Pupui, of the Sixth Dynasty, made the

[1] Il. i. 403; xiv. 291; xx. 74.

wonderful lake of Mœris. From this name Lauth ingeniously deduces the Homeric exclamation ὦ πόποι, in competition with the derivation obtained from Plutarch (De Aud. Poet.), who informs us that the Aruopes called the gods *popoi*. Isis he refers to *iei*, an eye, or the Coptic *eirhe*, a ray (p. 43). Echetos, the nose and ear-cutter, the proverbial bug-bear of the Odyssey, he traces to Actisanes, famous for his cruelty, who formed a settlement of men thus mutilated on the confines of the Syrian desert. More especially since this name appears in Manetho as Achthors, and on one of the monuments as Ahtes. The Phœnician resorting to Egypt (Od. xiv. 287) he compares with the statement of Manetho, that the Shepherd Kings were Phœnicians. Such are some of the more salient observations of Professor Lauth.

In quitting the subject, I will briefly refer to the antecedent likelihood of Homer's possession of Egyptian knowledge. I have referred to the two sources of such knowledge for his age in general. Now, not only is it probable that Homer had personal access to these sources, but we may almost say it is certain. Certain, by reason not solely, nor perhaps mainly, of the activity of his mind and his vast power of appropriation, but also because of his station as a Bard. Families of foreign extraction, Aiolids and others, we have the

strongest reason to believe, held princely positions in Greece. But it was especially in the Courts of Princes that the professional minstrel was found, and there not as a menial or as an occasional visitant, but as a permanent and confidential member of the household. To these same Courts did mariners resort with slaves, or ornaments, or any article of luxury, to dispose of. So that, as an incident of his proper work and station, the Poet must have been in the way of gathering all the whispers wafted from the East and South, whether by seamen, by immigrants, or by official representatives of the great Empire and their naturalised descendants.

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